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ANTIQUITIES

OF

THE JEWS,

CAREFULLY COMPILED FROM AUTHENTIC SOURCES,

AND

THEIR CUSTOMS ILLUSTRATED

FROM MODERN TRAVELS.

BY WILLIAM BROWN, D.D.

MINISTER OF ESKDALEHUIR.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A DISSERTATION ON THE HEBREW LANGUAGE, FROM
JENNINGS'S JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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ANTIQUITIES

OF

THE JEWS.

PART IX.

LEARNING OF THE JEWS.

SECT. I.

Jewish Manner of Writing.

Origin of writing. Engraving on brass, stone tables, on rock. The inscriptions on the mountains of Faran, in the wilderness of Sinai; in the plain of Mummies in Egypt; at the river Lycus; on the bricks of Babylon. One of these seen by the author. Engraving on lead. Books written on painted linen, papyrus, parchment, leaves, and inner bark of trees, plates of wood covered with wax. Their pens or styles: sometimes iron; sometimes a reed. The ancient form of books in rolls. A copy of the Veda described, as seen by the author. Rolls commonly written on one side; but sometimes on both. Writings how preserved. Letters, or private epistles in the form of rolls: how sealed. Description of an eastern letter seen by the author.

VARIOUS disputes have arisen as to the origin of writing. Some supposing that it was of divine original, and never known till the time of Moses; and others, that it was known long prior to him. But, in a matter of such high antiquity, it is impossible to come at certainty. It would seem, however, from the perfection of Moses' style, that it was known before; unless we conclude, that God not only wrote the law on two tables of stone; but that the Holy Spirit enabled Moses to write the Pentateuch in a language till that time only spoken, but never committed to writing; and consequently, that the five books of Moses are remarkable,

not only as being the most ancient code of laws ever promulgated, but as being the first specimen of writing that ever existed, which, although maintained by some, is certainly carrying the argument too far. The materials on which the Jews and other eastern nations wrote were various. The most ancient we read of, were the two tables of stone on which the Decalogue was written; and the two altars mentioned in Deut. xxvii. 8., that were erected for a similar purpose, unless we account the book of Job of an ancients date. For in Job xix. 23, 24, we have three ways of writing mentioned, viz. writing in a book, engraving on lead, and engraving on a rock. It would appear, that engraving on rock especially, was the way in which the ancients chose to preserve inscriptions. For the Prefetto of Egypt mentions a place not far from the mountains of Faran in the wilderness of Sinai, where, for the distance of three miles, they met with ancient unknown characters, cut here and there on the hard marble rock, at the distance of 12 or 14 feet from the ground, with the greatest industry. Maillet mentions something of the same kind in the plain of Mummies in Egypt, (Lett. 7.) Maundrell gives an account of figures and inscriptions like these abovementioned, which are graven on polished parts of the natural rock, and at some height above the road, which he found near the river Lycus (p. 37.) And Mr. Macdonald Kinneir, when speaking of Babylon, says, that he observed several kinds of bricks that appear to have been in use among the Babylonians, some of which were burnt by the fire for facing, and others dried in the sun for the heart of the building. Of the former he distinguished four kinds, but the most common were about a foot square, and three inches thick, with a distich of the characters so common at Persepolis, and similar in appear-

ance to the barb of an arrow.^a The author of the present work saw one of these bricks, exactly answering the above description, which had been brought from Babylon by one of the suite of General Sir John Malcolm.

It is generally thought that engraving on brass and lead, and on a rock or tablet of stone, was the form in which the public laws were written; but that rolls of linen, first painted and then written upon, was the common form of books. Two things corroborate this opinion. 1st. That tablets of stone or plates of metal could not have been cut with a knife and thrown into the fire, as Jeremiah's roll was by Jehoiakim.^b And 2dly, The linen bandages which surround the mummies are commonly filled with hieroglyphical characters. Prideaux informs us, that the Egyptian papyrus (from whence our English word paper is derived) was not known till the building of Alexandria, by Alexander the Great, and consequently later than the times of the prophets; and that parchment (*pergamena*, from Pergamus in Asia Minor, where it was first used,) was of later date than the papyrus.^c The leaves and inner bark of trees (called *Βύβλος* and *Liber*) were indeed sometimes used instead of paper; as were the thin plates of wood (*tabellæ*) either plain or covered with wax,^d but both the Jews and other nations resorted at length to the linen or parchment, as being most convenient; for paper, like that in present use, is only a modern invention. The Jewish manner of writing was suited to their materials. For when stone, lead, brass, wood, wax, or papyrus, were used, they wrote with a bodkin or style of iron; and hence it is that every man's writings or com-

^a Geograph. Memoir of the Persian Empire, A. D. 1810, p. 279.

^b Ch. xxxvi. 23.

^c Prideaux Connect. A. A C. 332.

^d Is. xxx. 8

positions are called different styles;^a But when they wrote on linen or parchment, they used a reed (*calamus*) formed into a pen, and some colouring substance equivalent to ink; like Isaiah when he wrote his prophecy in ch. viii. 1. In Ezekiel ix. 2, 3, 11. we read of six persons with scribes' or writers' ink-horns at their sides or girdles, which, though not conformable to our customs, is yet agreeable to those of the East. Thus Dr. Shaw informs us,^b that among the Moors in Barbary, "the Hojas, that is, the writers or secretaries, suspend their ink-horns in their girdles, a custom as old as the prophet Ezekiel:" and adds in a note, that "the part of these ink-horns (if an instrument of brass may be so called) which passes betwixt the girdle and the tunic, and holds their pens, is long and flat; but the vessel for the ink, which rests upon the girdle, is square, with a lid to clasp over it." And Hanway in like manner says of the Persians, that their writers carry their ink and pens about them in a case, which they put under their sash,"^c which Sir John Malcolm tells us is about ten or twelve inches in length, and three or four round, beautifully painted, and is also worn by ministers in Persia as an ensign of office.^d

The ancient form of a book was commonly that of a roll, and hence the frequent mention of rolls in Scripture. For it is well known that the books found in Herculaneum are in the form of rolls, and that the ancient Jewish books did not, like ours, consist of distinct leaves bound together, but were, as the copies of the Pentateuch used in the Jewish synagogues still are, long rolls of parchment, with the writing distinguished into columns. So that what are called leaves in Jer. xxxvi. 23, seem rather to have been the columns into which the

^a Prideaux Connect. A.A.C. 332.

^b Trav. p. 227.

^c Vol. i. p. 332.

^d History of Persia, vol. i. ch. 10.

breadth of the roll was divided, as many of the eastern rolls are at this day. Accordingly, Josephus, when describing the introduction of the Seventy-two translators of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, to Ptolomy Philadelphus, says, "But as the old men came in with the presents which the high-priest had given them to bring to the king, and with the membranes or skins upon which they had these laws written in golden letters, he put questions to them concerning these books. And when they had taken off the covers wherein they were wrapt up, they showed him the membranes. So the king stood admiring the thinness of these membranes, and the exactness of the joinings, which could not be perceived, so exactly were they connected one with another; and this he did for a considerable time."^a The author of the present work has seen a roll, on which was written the Veda, or sacred book of the Hindoos, in the Sanscrit language. It was of silk paper, nine feet ten inches long, and four and three-eighth inches wide. The writing was in two columns, beautifully executed, with ten paintings at top, five and five; and along the columns, at different but unequal distances, were other three and twenty paintings, which were understood to be either incarnations of their deity, or expressive of some parts of their mythology. The edging on the sides and foot were also elegantly designed.—In general, the ancient rolls were only written on one of the sides, but the roll mentioned in Ezekiel ii. 10, was written within and without, to show the abundance of the matter contained in it. These latter rolls were called by the Greeks *ὁπισθογραφα βιβλια*,^b books written on the back or outer side; and from them by the Romans, *Libri opistographi*,^c or as Juvenal^d calls them, *Scripti in tergo*.

^a Antiq. xii. 2. ^b Lucian Vit. Auct. 9. ^c Plin. Epist. iii. 5. ^d Sat. i. lin. 6.

And of this kind was the book or roll mentioned in Rev. v. 1., which was written within, and on the back, and sealed with seven seals. It is easy to see that rolls of linen, silk or parchment were liable to the injuries of time, both as to their texture and writing: they seem therefore to have been preserved in chests of wood, or some other durable material. Jeremiah's roll is indeed said to have been preserved in an earthen pitcher,^a but Michaelis rather thinks it the name of a place, and that the original word *Aemetha* means Ecbatana, the capital of Media.^b With respect to deeds of no great length, but of great importance, they seem to have been engraved on sheets of lead rolled up. For Pliny informs us,^c that "writing on lead (*plumbeis voluminibus*, rolls of lead) was of high antiquity, and came after writing on the bark and leaves of trees, and was used in recording public transactions." Josephus frequently speaks of decrees of states being written on brass.

Besides books in the form of rolls, we also read in Scripture of letters being sent from one person to another. These were, in general, in the form of rolls also,^d and resembling probably those in the East at this day. Thus Neibuhr^e tells us that "the Arabs roll up their letters, and then flatten them to the breadth of an inch, and paste up the end of them, instead of sealing them." And Hanway^f tells us, that "the Persians make up their letters in the form of a roll, about six inches long, and that a bit of paper is fastened round it with gum, and sealed with an impression of ink, which resembles our printers' ink, but not so thick."—When letters were written to inferiors, they were often sent open, or in the form of an unsealed roll: but when addressed to equals

^a Chap. xxxii. 14. ^b Supplem. ad. Lex. Heb. p. 60. ^c Nat. Hist. xiii. 11.

^d Joseph Antiq. xv. 6. ^e Arab. p. 90. ^f Travels, vol. i. p. 317.

or superiors, they were enclosed in a bag of silk or satin, sealed and directed.^a Hence the insult of Sanballat to Nehemiah, in sending his letter to him by his servant open.^b—It was just now said, that these letters were sealed; I may remark, as an additional circumstance, that the very ancient custom^c of sealing them with a seal or signet set in a ring is still retained in the East. Thus “in Egypt,” says Dr. Pocock, “they make the impression of their name with their seal, generally of cornelian, which they wear on their finger, and which is blacked, when they have occasion to seal with it.” And Mr. Hanway^d remarks, that the Persian ink “serves not only for writing, but for subscribing with their seal: indeed many of the Persians in high office (he adds) could not write: but in their rings they wear agates, which serve for a seal, on which is frequently engraved their name and some verse of the Koran.” So Dr. Shaw, in like manner, says in his *Travels*, p. 247, that “As few or none either of the Arab shekhs, or of Turkish and eastern kings, princes or bashaws, know to write their own names; all their letters and decrees are stamped with their proper rings, seals, or signets,^e which are usually of silver or cornelian, with their respective names engraved upon them on one side, and the name of their kingdom or principality, or else some sentence of the Koran, on the other.” It was perhaps to this that the apostle alludes, when he says,^f “The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal or impression on the one side, The Lord knoweth them that are his: and on the other, Let every one that nameth the name

^a Harm. Ob. vol. ii. p. 129. Neibuhr Arabie, p. 90.

^b Ch. vi. 5.

^c Gen. xli. 42. Esth. iii. 10. 12. viii. 2. 8. 10. Jer. xxii. 24.

^d Travels, vol. i. p. 317.

^e 1 Kings xxi. 8. Esth. iii. 12. Dan. vi. 17. Eccles. xlix. 11.

^f 2 Tim. ii. 19.

of Christ depart from iniquity." The author of this work saw a letter addressed from a governor general of India to the king of Persia, in Persic, on beautifully glazed white paper, fifty inches long, and twenty inches broad. The written part, however, was only two feet long, and one foot broad; the rest being filled with a beautiful ornamental painting at the head of the letter, and a very elegantly painted border round the whole sheet. The bag in which it was sent, and which the author also saw, was a cloth composed of gold threads and crimson silk. It was tied at the neck with a gold lace, which, after being knotted, passed through an immense red seal, four inches in diameter, and about an inch thick, of red wax; which seal was entirely covered with Persic characters, which were supposed to be the titles of the Persian king. In order to preserve the seal and lace entire, the bag was opened at bottom, to extract the letter, but the natural way of opening it would be either by melting the wax or cutting the lace between the wax and the bag. So much as to their manner of writing in general.

SECT. II.

Some Account of their principal Books.

The Old Testament divided into the Pentateuch, former prophets, latter prophets, and Hagiographa. Account of the origin of chapters and verses. The Books referred to in Scripture, but at present lost. The Septuagint: Josephus. Of the Talmudical writings, the following are the most remarkable. 1st. The Midraschim, or Commentaries. 2d. The Midraschim Rabbot, or Great Commentaries. 3d. The Pirke Abbot, or Sentences of the Fathers. 4th. The Mishna, its origin, author, and contents described. 5th. The Gemara. 6th. The Talmud. 7. The Targum. 8th. The Commentary on the Old Testament by Aben Ezra. 9th. Maimonides, writings of, described. 10th. Abarbanel's Commentary on the Law.

THE Hebrew Scriptures, which form the most ancient book in the world, are arranged by the Jews in a different

manner from what they appear in our translation: for they are classed by them under the four following heads.

I. The Pentateuch, containing the five Books of Moses, entitled Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy. II. The Former Prophets, comprehending Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings. III. The Latter prophets, comprehending Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi: and IV. The Hagiographa, or Holy Writings, comprehending Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, 1 and 2 Chronicles.—They were first revised and arranged by Ezra, A.A.C. 444: the other members of the Great Synagogue carried on the work; and Simon the Just completed the Canon of the Old Testament A.A.C. 291, by adding 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and Malachi: of which, 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra, and Esther, are supposed to have been written by Ezra: and Nehemiah and Malachi, by those whose names they bear, some time after his death.*

In the time of Josephus, Daniel was esteemed one of the greatest of the prophets;† but, since that time, the opinion of the Jews hath been changed; for, in order to invalidate the evidence that results from his writings in support of Christianity, they have, on the authority of a few doctors, agreed to remove him from among the prophets, and class him among the Hagiographa: which division, however, even upon their own rules, does not affect his pretensions to be considered as an inspired writer. The reason, among others, which induced the Jews to this degradation, is, that Daniel lived in the Babylonish court in a style of magnificence inconsistent

* Prideaux Connect. A.A.C. 292. 446.

† Antiq. x. 11. 12.

with the restrictions observed by the prophets; and though the divine will was revealed to him by an angel, yet, as the prophet himself calls this revelation a dream, the Jewish writers, by an unintelligible distinction, consider this as a mode of revelation inferior to any of those specified in God's address to Moses.*

In the most ancient copies of the Scriptures there are neither chapters nor verses. The following is a short account of their origin: Some have asserted, that the present division into chapters was invented by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the reigns of King John, and his son, Henry III.; but the true author was Hugo de Sancto Caro, who from a dominican monk was advanced to the dignity of cardinal, and is generally known by the name of cardinal Hugo. He flourished A. D. 1240, and died A. D. 1262. This cardinal was the first who composed a Concordance in the Vulgar Latin, by the assistance of the monks of his order; and divided the Vulgate into chapters, and letters, at regular distances along the margin, for the sake of reference. The subdivision into verses by Hebrew letters, as they stand in the margin of our Hebrew Bibles, was not adopted till two centuries after by Mordecai Nathan, or, as others call him, Isaac Nathan: who, seeing the utility of Hugo's concordance to the Christians, when arguing with the Jews, composed a Hebrew one for the Jews, to argue against the Christians; but, in place of adopting Hugo's marginal letters, he marked every fifth verse with a Hebrew numeral thus, נ 1, 7 5, 10, &c.; retaining, however, his division into sections or chapters. This Concordance of Nathan's was begun by him A. D. 1438, and finished A. D. 1445.

* Num. xii. 6. Gray's Key to the Old Testament, p. 403. Prideaux Conn. A.A.C. 534.

The last improvement as to the verses, was by Athias, a Jew of Amsterdam, in his beautiful edition of the Hebrew Bible printed in 1661, and reprinted in 1667; who marked every verse with our common numerals, except those already marked by Nathan with Hebrew letters, in the manner they now stand in the Hebrew Bibles. And it was by casting out these Hebrew letters from other Bibles, and putting the corresponding numerals in their place, that all the copies of the Bible, in other languages, have since been marked.^a

In the Old Testament Scriptures, a reference is often made to other books, such as the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel,^b and of Judah;^c of Jasher;^d of Samuel the seer;^e and of the chronicles of the kings of Persia:^f but all these are now lost, except some fragments of the last, which are preserved by the Persian poet Ferdosi, who lived in the fourth century of the Mahomedan æra (corresponding with the eleventh of the Christian,) and is reckoned the first of Persian poets. "He is the author of the *Shah Nameh*," (says Sir John Malcolm,) "or Book of Kings, a noble epic poem, which, independent of its poetical merit, contains the only facts the Persians have of the more early periods of their history. It is formed from some fragments of the chronicles of the kings of Persia, a work which is noticed in Scripture; and which we are told by the Grecian author Ctesias, existed when he was at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon."^g

But, besides the Old Testament Scriptures, the Jews have several writings of human composure, which are in

^a Prid. Conn. A.A.C. 446.

^b 2 Kings i. 18.

^c 2 Kings viii. 25.

^d Josh. x. 13. 2 Sam. i. 18.

^e 1 Chron. xxix. 29.

^f Esther vi. 1.

^g Persia, a Poem, Note (a.) Sir John has nearly the same observations in his History of Persia, vol. i. ch. 7.

high esteem among them. Of these, the first, in order of time, is the *Septuagint*, procured at the request of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, and valuable as being the sense which the Jews, in those days, put on the Scriptures. It differs often from our present translation, and not unfrequently serves to illustrate obscure passages. A full account of the history of this translation, and the controversy concerning it, may be seen in Prideaux Connect. A.A.C. 277.—The *Apocrypha*, so called from ἀποκρυφῶ, “to hide,” because of the uncertainty and concealed nature of their original, were never admitted into the Jewish Canon, nor read in the Jewish synagogue. Hence the derivation of the name by some because they were removed ἀπο τῆς κρυπτης, from the sacred chest, where the canonical books were placed. They have no title to be considered as inspired writings,* but they contain many excellent sentiments, and supply many historical facts, in the period between the end of the Old, and beginning of the New Testament.—*The writings of Josephus* are valuable on many accounts. His *Antiquities*, which extend from the creation of the world till the fifty-sixth year of his age, or A. D. 93, are contained in twenty books, and give a commentary on the whole of the Old Testament, as well as supply the materials that were wanting to explain the latter period of the Jewish history. His *wars of the Jews*, in seven books, although placed second in the editions of his works, were written eighteen years before his *Antiquities*; viz. in the thirty-eighth year of his own age, or A. D. 73; and contain a striking commentary on our Saviour’s prophecy, concerning the destruction of Jerusalem: whilst his account of his own life, written A. D. 100, his two books against Apion,

* Gray’s Key to the Apocrypha.

and his Discourse on the martyrdom of the Maccabees, are also useful, either for confirming facts formerly recorded, or exhibiting the state of Jewish sentiment and manners. The above may be called the ancient Jewish writers, or classic authors of the Jewish nation. As for the Hebrew Josephus, by Josippon ben Gorion, it is proved to be a forgery by Prideaux, in his Connect. vol. ii. preface.

Of the writings of the Rabbins, which are comparatively modern, the following are much valued : 1. The *Midraschim*, or Commentaries, from a word signifying to inquire, because the commentators sought the sense of Scripture. They are used in their synagogues, and are accounted of great authority and antiquity. 2. The *Midraschim Rabbot*, or Great Commentaries, which are also used in their synagogues, and are said to have been written by Nachmanides, who ought to have lived in the end of the third century ; but the work bears evidence of a later date. 3. The Sentences of the Fathers, entitled *Pirke Abbot*, and those under the name of Rabbi Eliezer ; but they are also less ancient than is commonly thought.* 4th. The *Mishnah* hath always been in very high esteem, and the history of it is as follows : Before the birth of our Saviour, the Jews held, that there was a two-fold law given to Moses on Mount Sinai ; the written law, which is recorded in the Scriptures, and the oral law. This oral law, they say, was never committed to writing, but delivered by Moses, viva voce, first to Aaron and his sons, then to the Seventy Elders, and afterwards to any of the congregation, either in that or any future age, whose hearts were desirous to receive it. Holding them, therefore, to be both of divine original, they held themselves bound to observe

* Baanage, Relig. of Jews, Book iii. ch. 30.

them both alike : but in process of time, the latter came to have much the preference of the former ; for an opinion arose, which afterwards universally prevailed, that the written law was in many places obscure, scanty, and defective, and could be no perfect rule to them without the oral law, which supplied its defects, and solved all its difficulties. Hence it was, that they observed the written law no otherwise than as it was interpreted by the oral law ; verifying thereby our Saviour's observation, "That they made the commandment of God of none effect, by their traditions." Such is the account which the ancient Jews gave of the origin of their traditions, and something like this is entertained by the Jews even of the present day. But when we lay aside their high-sounding pretensions, and examine the matter impartially, we readily find that these favourite traditions can boast of no such divine original, for that the circumstance which gave rise to them was shortly this : After the death of Simeon the Just, which happened in the year before Christ 292, there arose a class of men called by the Jews "The Mishnical doctors," from the Chaldaic word "Shanah," which signifies to deliver by tradition, who made it their business to study and descant upon the traditions which had been received and allowed by Ezra, and the members of the great synagogue (as the one in which he presided was called,) and to draw inferences of their own from them ; all which descants and inferences they engrafted into the stock of the ancient traditions, in order to obtain for them an equal authority. But this liberty, which the first Mishnical doctors took, did not die with them ; for every successor in office always thought himself wise enough to add something of his own, till the traditions of the elders became a burden almost impossible for any memory to bear. Thus matters stood in the time of

our Saviour; and they always became worse till the end of the second century, when, as a matter of necessity, it was judged proper to commit them to writing, and the honour was assigned to Rabbi Judah, the son of Simeon, head of the school, and president of the Sanhedrim, which were then at Tiberias, the sanctity of whose life was so generally acknowledged, that he had obtained the appellation of "Hakedush," or "Holy." Nor do they seem to have fixed upon an improper person; for the *Mishnah* (ספר משניות *seper meshniuth*, or book of traditions) which he wrote, in consequence of this application, was instantly received with great veneration by the Jews, in all their dispersions, and commented upon by the learned, both in Judea and Babylon.*

After the Mishna, the next book to be mentioned is

5. *The Gemara*, or supplement to the Mishna. There are two productions known by that name, those of Jerusalem and Babylon. They were both written in the Chaldee language, as being the best understood by the Jews, and are intended as commentaries on the Mishna.

The 6th book we shall mention is the *Talmud*. This is nothing else than the Mishna and Gemara united, like the text and its commentary. Accordingly, as there were two Gemaras, so there are two Talmuds, the Jerusalem and the Babylonish. The Jerusalem Talmud, consisting of the Mishna and Jerusalem Gemara, was written about A.D. 300; but it was considered imperfect, because containing the opinions of only a few of the Rabbins of that place; the Jews, therefore, at Babylon, endeavoured to supply the defect, and completed a

* See a full account of this Oral law in Prideaux Connect. A.A.C. 446; and a minute analysis of the Mishna, with the authors who have translated it into Latin, in the list of Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic authors at the end of Spencer, De Legib. Hebr. Ritual.

larger one, about 200 years after, which is much preferred. This Babylonish Talmud, consisting of the Mishna, and Babylonish Gemara, was always in manuscript, till A.D. 1646, when it was published at Amsterdam in ten volumes : but the best edition is in six volumes, by Gul. Surenhusius, with notes by Maimonides and Bartenora, at Amsterdam, A.D. 1698.

7. The *Targum* is the Chaldee paraphrase on the Old Testament, or written law, as the Talmud is the paraphrase on the Oral law or traditions. It received its origin from the seventy years' captivity at Babylon, where the Jews learned the language of their masters : for, having returned home, they were better acquainted with the Chaldee than the Hebrew ; and, therefore, Ezra and the other priests read the Scriptures in Hebrew, and explained them in Chaldaic. There are three paraphrases of peculiar note, viz. Onkelos on the Law, Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the prophets, and Joseph Cæcus on the Hagiographa. Others say, Onkelos on the Law, and Akila on the Prophets and Hagiographa. The style of Onkelos is simple, and resembling the Scriptures. He is said to have lived about the time of our Saviour. Jonathan Ben Uzziel was a disciple of Hillel the Elder, who was forty years old at the return from Babylon. But we hear nothing of Cæcus. Spencer makes Onkelos and Jonathan contemporaries with Hillel and Shammai, whose different opinions on many subjects the Talmud records. There is, however, internal evidence in the Targum, to believe it to have been written after A.D. 570, for it mentions the city of Constantinople in Num. xxiv. 19. 24., and Lombardy and Italy in Num. xxiv. 24. Now Constantinople was not known by that name till A.D. 328, when Constantine the Great removed the seat of his empire from Rome to

it; and the Lombards did not obtain the dominion of Italy till A.D. 570.^a

8. *Aben Ezra* (אַבְנֵי עֶזְרָא *Aben ozra*) wrote a Commentary on the Old Testament in Hebrew: he is reckoned among the most learned of the Rabbins. His commentary is literal; but, by labouring to be concise, he hath become obscure. He was born at Toledo, in Spain, lived at Rome and Rhodes, and died at Rhodes A.D. 1165.

9. *Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon*, or *Maimonides*, called also *Rambam*, from the initials of his name, was born at Cordova in Spain, about A.D. 1131, lived long in Egypt as a physician, and died there A.D. 1208. Few authors are more frequently quoted than he. He wrote on most of the subjects contained in the Talmud, and is reckoned the most rational and systematic of their writers.^b

10. The last book I shall mention is that written by Don Isaac Abarbanel on the law, the former prophets, the beginning of the year, and the consecration of the new moon, according to the Rabbins, and against the Karaites, who fix it at the change, but the Rabbins when she became visible. He was born at Ulyssipona in Lusitania, A.D. 1437; was employed at the court of Alphonsus V.; left his native country as an exile, with the rest of the Jews, A.D. 1492; died at Venice, and was buried at Patavium A.D. 1508.^c •

^a See a full account of all the eight Targums in Prideaux Connect. A. A. C. 37.

^b See an Analysis of his works, with the names of the translators, in Spencer De Leg. Hebr. Rit. vol. ii. sub fin.

^c Considerable additional information as to Jewish authors may be obtained in the Catalogue given by Spencer, and Prideaux Connect. vol. ii. preface.

SECT. III.

Jewish notions of Astronomy.

Jewish notions of the figure, motion, and dissolution of the earth. Objections against the Copernican system examined. State of astronomy in Chaldea, Egypt, and Judea. The cases of Joshua, and the dial of Ahaz. Arcturus and Orion described: the Pleiades: the chambers of the south; Mazzaroth-Parkhurst's different explanation of these. The darkness at our Saviour's death considered. An interesting extract from Fergusson's Tracts.

THE whole of Scripture strikes evidently against the generally received heathen opinion either of the eternity of the world, or its formation by chance; for it points out its creation by the power of God at no very remote period, and its entire dependence on him for its continuance and regularity. As for the particular form of the earth, and the place it holds in the system of nature, the opinions of the ancients were very various. Some supposing that it was an extended plane, the extremities of which were surrounded by water; and others that it was a globe, or nearly so, with a surface diversified by land and water: some imagining that it was fixed in its place, while the sun and the stars revolved around it; and others that the sun was fixed, and that the earth and planets revolved around him in elliptical orbits; the sun being placed in one of the foci of these ellipses.

We know little of the ideas of the Jews concerning the relations of the heavenly bodies to each other, both on account of the distance of time, and because Scripture was given for other ends than to teach men philosophy; but, from what we can collect, they appear to have been nearly the same with what is accounted at présent the true system of astronomy. For Job^a speaks

^a Job xxvi, 7.

of "stretching out the north over the empty place, and hanging the earth upon nothing." The diurnal and annual motions of the earth are not only hinted at, but contained in the word by which they described that body. ארץ *arets*, the earth, is derived from רץ *rets*, a wheel, which not only revolves round its own axis, but has a progressive motion like that of the earth round the sun. And the dissolution of the world was known to Job when he said^a that "man lieth down, and riseth not till the heavens be no more:" and that God "compasseth the waters with limits till the day and night come to an end."^b Whilst Peter reveals to us the precise agent that shall be employed in this awful work; for he tells us,^c that "the day of the Lord shall come as a thief in the night; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat; the earth also, and the works that are therein, shall be burnt up."

It hath been objected to this reasoning, that there are other parts of Scripture which speak of the stability of the earth,^d and of the motion of the sun and heavenly bodies.^e But it may be answered, that such expressions might only have been used in accommodation to visible appearances; and as they are still used by philosophers in their common conversation every day, who talk of the rising and setting of the sun, and of the stability of the earth, as readily as the unlettered peasant.

From the hints given to us in the Book of Job, one would be inclined to consider the system of Pythagoras, or, as it is now called, of Copernicus, as only a more complete developement of that which was anciently known to that patriarch. Perhaps, also, the same be-

^a Job. xiv. 12.

^b Job xxvi. 10.

^c 2 Peter iii. 10.

^d 1 Chron. xvi. 30. Ps. xciii. 1. xcvi. 10. civ. 5. cxix. 90. Eccles. i. 4.

^e Gen. xv. 17. xix. 23. Ps. xix. 5, 6. Eccles. i. 5.

lief was entertained by the more intelligent among the Jews, in the earlier period of their history, who drew their information from the sacred oracles, rather than from the erroneous and extravagant cosmogonies of their heathen neighbours. And who knows but the philosophers who went to the East in search of truth may have received, while in their neighbourhood, those hints which, when reported to others, or improved by themselves, may have laid the foundation of those theories which have excited the admiration of posterity? One thing is certain, that Pythagoras travelled into Egypt and Chaldea in quest of knowledge; that he resided in these countries for many years; that, in passing and re-passing to Chaldea, he could scarcely fail to become acquainted with so singular a people as the Jews; and it is not unlikely that the hints he may have received of their political, religious, and astronomical systems, may have served to perfect those views which he was afterwards pleased to communicate to the world. If the above reasoning be true, the land of Canaan has been the cradle both of religion and philosophy: and from it, as from a centre, have the rays of science and religion diverged among the nations. Nor is it any objection to this reasoning, that we have no written records, particularly stating that this was the case: for the Jews had equal advantages with the Egyptians and Chaldeans for making observations in astronomy, and there would be some in that country, as well as in the others, whose genius led them to these pursuits; but the reason why we hear nothing of their discoveries is, that their religion prevented them from associating with other nations, and, consequently, prevented strangers from residing among them. Perhaps the real state of the case, then, was as follows: That they had as just views of the great outline of the solar system as any of their neigh-

bours, but that the observations made by the Egyptians and Chaldeans were more within the reach of Pythagoras and other enquiring travellers, and therefore recorded by them in their several writings. But since we are strangers to the discoveries which the Jews may have made in astronomical science, is there no way to come at an approximation to the truth? Are there no borrowed lights which may serve in some measure to dispel the gloom, and furnish us with the probable progress of that science among this interesting people? The only reply that can be made to this query, is to state the hints we have in ancient authors of the astronomy of Egypt and Chaldea, and to suppose that these formed the outlines of the astronomical creed among the thinking part of the Jews in those times. Let us begin then with Chaldea. We are informed by the peripatetic philosopher Simplicius, on the authority of Porphyry, that when Babylon was taken by Alexander the Great, Callisthenes collected the astronomical observations of the Chaldeans for 1903 years, and transmitted them to Aristotle, at the desire of the Macedonian king. We know for certain, that three eclipses of the moon were accurately observed at Babylon in the years 719 and 720, before the Christian æra; and it is highly probable that, in the temperate and cloudless climate of Chaldea, these were not their earliest attempts in practical astronomy. Ptolomy, who made use of these eclipses for determining the mean motion of the moon, has recorded other four lunar eclipses, the last of which was observed at Babylon, about 367 years before Christ. The astronomical knowledge of the Chaldeans, however, is more unequivocally marked in their luni-solar periods, which must have been deduced from a great number of accurate observations. Their period of eclipses, which they called Saros, consisting of 223 lunations, or 6585

days, 8 hours, at the end of which, the moon returned to the very same position, with regard to the sun, and to her own node, and perigee. The eclipses, therefore, which were observed during one period, enabled them to predict those which were to take place in the period that succeeded, and all the other phenomena which resulted from the combined motions of the two luminaries. The accurate tables of Delambre and Mason make this period 6585 days, 7 hours, 42 minutes, and 31 seconds, so that the error of the Chaldean astronomers amounted only to 17 minutes and 31 seconds. The Chaldeans, if we trust to the authority of Albategnius, made the sidereal year 365 days, 6 hours, and 11 minutes ; and it appears, from their luni-solar periods, that their tropical year was 365 days, 5 hours, 49 minutes, and 30 seconds. Hence we have great reason to believe that they must have been acquainted with the precession of the equinoctial points ; a fact which they might easily have deduced from the heliacal rising and setting of the fixed stars. Aristotle informs us, that the occultations of the planets and stars by the moon had been frequently observed by the Chaldeans ; and we learn from Diodorus, that they considered the comets as subject to the same laws with the planetary bodies, but revolving in orbits which receded to a greater distance from the earth. From the occultations of the stars, they conjectured that the eclipses of the sun were caused by the interposition of the moon ; but, though they seem to have been acquainted with the sphericity of the earth, they were ignorant of the cause of lunar eclipses. Ptolomy mentions an observation upon Saturn, which was made about the year before Christ, 228, the only one upon the planets which history has recorded ; and Diodorus Siculus informs us, that the Chaldeans were acquainted with the periods of all the planets, and regarded the moon as the

smallest of the heavenly bodies, and the nearest to the earth. So much then for the discoveries that are said to have been made by the Chaldeans.—It is difficult to determine, with any degree of probability, whether astronomy was first cultivated in Egypt or Chaldea. The Egyptians, according to Diogenes Laertius, maintained that 48,853 years elapsed between the time of Vulcan and Alexander the Great; and that, during that period, they had observed 373 eclipses of the sun, and 832 of the moon. These numbers represent pretty nearly the proportion between the eclipses of the two luminaries, and though fewer than what really happened, they were those which had been particularly noticed, and therefore recorded by the Egyptians. From the heliacal rising of Sirius, the Egyptians ascertained the length of their year to be $365\frac{1}{4}$ days; and hence they discovered the Sothic or Canicular period of 1460 years, at the end of which the months and festivals of their civil year of 365 days returned to the same seasons. According to Macrobius, the Egyptians were acquainted with the revolution of Mercury and Venus round the sun, and the order which the planets held in the system; and hence it is probable that Diodorus Siculus is correct in asserting that they were also acquainted with the stations and retrogradations of the planets. Phenomena so striking as eclipses of the sun and moon could not fail to excite the attention of this intelligent people. Conon, the friend of Archimedes, collected many eclipses of the sun, that had been observed by the Egyptians; and it is highly probable that they employed formulæ resembling those of the Indians and Siamese, for computing their celestial phenomena. Thales appears to have received from the Egyptians his method of predicting an eclipse of the sun; and Diogenes Laertius asserts it as his opinion, that the earth had a spherical

form, and that the moon was eclipsed by plunging into its shadow.

These facts, for which I am indebted to the Edinburgh Encyclopedia,^a clearly prove the great progress which the Chaldeans and Egyptians had made in astronomy : and serve to show what may have been the probable state of that science also among the Jews. One thing they clearly indicate, viz. the source from whence Pythagoras derived his knowledge of the solar system, which he communicated to the world about 500 years before Christ ; and which consisted in placing the sun in the centre, and making all the planets to revolve round it in elliptical orbits.^b Neither Greece nor Rome, however, were prepared to receive this theory of Pythagoras ; and it was accordingly superseded by one diametrically opposite, which was broached by Ptolemy, a native of Egypt, and author of that geography which bears his name, about the year of our Lord 150. His system, commonly known by the name of the Ptolemaic, placed the earth in the centre, and made the sun, moon, and all the planets to revolve around it, and, strange to say, was universally believed and adopted by the learned for upwards 1400 years. But error in the end gave place to truth ; and Copernicus, by reviving, in the 16th century, the long despised theory of Pythagoras, has afforded to philosophers the opportunity of

^a Art. Astronomy.

^b The school of Pythagoras was no stranger to that declination of the earth's axis from a perpendicular to its orbit, on which the seasons depend.

Thus Philolaus thought *ἡ γῆ κυκλῶσιν περιφέρειται περὶ τὸ πῦρ, κατὰ κυκλῶσιν*, that the earth was carried round the fire, or sun, in an oblique circle. (Plutarch De Plac. lib. iii. cap. 13.) And Aristarchus taught that the heaven was immoveable, *ἐξωστισθῆναι δὲ κατὰ λοξὴν κυκλῶσιν τὴν γῆν, ἅμα καὶ περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀξὸς ἀξίονα δαμνῆναι*, but that the earth moved in an oblique circle, revolving at the same time round its own axis. (Plutarch De facie in Orbe Lunæ, tom. ii. p. 933.) This declination of the earth's axis, on which the seasons depend, is now known to be $23\frac{1}{2}$ degrees.

demonstrating, by numberless proofs, the falsity of the one, and the truth of the other. Assuming, then, this position, that the system of Pythagoras, and afterwards of Copernicus, is the true system of the universe, I may observe, that its simplicity and truth recommend it irresistibly to every discerning mind: for the sun is demonstratively proved to be far larger than any of the planets; and it is surely more natural that the less should revolve round the greater, than that the greater should revolve round the less. Besides, common sense tells us, that the scheme which is simple should certainly be preferred to that which is intricate. Now, the Pythagorean or Copernican system is infinitely more simple than the Ptolemaic; and all the motions of the sun, moon, and planets, which by the one are intricate and unnatural, are by the other easily explained; philosophers having shown that the planetary motions are so regulated, that the squares of the times, in which the planets revolve round the sun, are always proportional to the cubes of their mean distances from that body: a fact which is in perfect conformity with the system of Copernicus, but diametrically opposite to that of Ptolemy. —As for those singular cases mentioned in Joshua x. 12, 13. 2 Kings xx. 10. Isaiah xxxviii. 8, of the sun standing still at the command of Joshua, and the shadow of the sun going back ten degrees on the dial of Ahaz; these form no objection to the foregoing reasoning. For it was certainly more natural that the diurnal motion of the earth, as a single body, should stand still, and return backwards, than that the whole solar system should be arrested. And as for the dial of Ahaz, if the effect could be produced by an increased refraction of the sun's rays, in passing through our atmosphere, as many philosophers have thought, there was then no occasion for the earth or sun returning at all.



The Jewish historian Josephus^a seems to have thought that the shadow on the dial of Ahaz was accelerated at first as much forward as it was made to go backwards afterwards; and so the day was neither longer nor shorter than usual; which, it must be confessed, agrees best with astronomy, whose eclipses prior to that miracle were observed at the same times of the day, as if it had never happened. Nor is it any objection to his interpretation, that it was seen or heard of at Babylon; for this remarkable refraction of the sun's rays forward and backward might either have been noticed by these accurate observers, or told them as a remarkable occurrence: since we find that ambassadors were sent to Hezekiah, not only to inquire after his health, but concerning the wonder that had happened in the land.^b The words of Josephus are, "He desired that he (viz. Isaiah) would make the shadow of the sun, which had already gone down ten steps in his house, to return again to the same place, and to make it as it was before."^c

But let us now attend particularly to the incidental notices we have in Scripture of some of those stars and constellations, which, in every age, have attracted the notice of men. They are no exact criterion of the state of astronomical knowledge among that singular people; but they will tend to illustrate those passages where they are to be found. There are two places in Job, and one in Amos, where we have several of them mentioned. Thus, in Job ix. 9, it is said, that God "made Arcturus, Orion, and Pleiades, and the chambers of the south." In Job xxxviii. 31, 32, Jehovah, in order to humble Job, asketh him if he could "bind the sweet influences of the Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion? if he could

^a Antiq. x. 2. ^b 2 Chron. xxxii. 31. ^c Whiston's Translation and Note.

bring forth Mazzaroth in his season, or guide Arcturus with his sons?" And the prophet Amos enjoins it upon Israel, to leave the calves which Jeroboam had made, and "seek him who made the seven stars, and Orion." Here, then, we have Arcturus with his sons, Orion, the Pleiades, or seven stars, the chambers of the south, and Mazzaroth; all of which deserve our attention. Let us examine them in their order.

Arcturus is a fixed star of the first magnitude, in the constellation Arcto-phylax, or Bootes. The word is formed of *αρκτος*, a bear, and *ουρα*, the tail; because it is situated near the tail of the Ursa Major or Great Bear. This star was known to the ancients, and is mentioned by Virgil, as well as by Job. Mr. Hornsby concludes, that Arcturus is the nearest fixed star to our system that is visible in the northern hemisphere, because the variation of its place, in consequence of a proper motion of its own, is more remarkable than that of any other of the stars. And by comparing a variety of observations respecting both the quantity and direction of the motion of this star, he infers that the obliquity of the ecliptic decreases at the rate of 58" in a hundred years: a quantity which nearly corresponds with the mean computation framed by Euler and De la Lande, on the principles of attraction.* The original word for Arcturus in Job ix. 9, is *וַיְיֹשֶׁה* *Osh*, and in Job xxxviii. 32, it is *וַיְיֹשֶׁה* *Oish*; which Mons. De Gouguet derives from *וַיְיֹשֶׁה* *Oush*, signifying, in the Hebrew, "to gather together or assemble," and in the Arabic, "to make a circuit," both of which he explains, not of Arcturus in the constellation Bootes, but of the Ursa Major, or Great Bear, which, being composed of seven stars in the form of a plough, may be said to be "a gathering together,"

* Perth. En cycl. in Verb.

or collection of stars, whose circuit round the pole every night is a matter of common observation.* It was by looking upwards, in a line from the two stars which form the handles of the plough, that the ancient sailors found the pole star, by which they were guided in their voyages before the invention of the mariner's compass.

The second mentioned constellation is *Orion*, one of those in the southern hemisphere, and near the foot of *Taurus*, or the Bull. It is composed of a number of stars in the form of a man, holding a sword or club in his hand; the brightest of which are the three equidistant stars in his belt, called, by the vulgar, the king's measuring rod, and the other three stars in their neighbourhood, at half the distance from each other, which form his sword. This constellation rises about the ninth day of March, and sets about the 21st of June; and as its rising has been generally supposed to be accompanied with rains and storms, it has the epithet of "aquosus" given it by Virgil. The original word in Job ix. 9. xxxviii. 31. Amos v. 8. is כְּסִיל *cesil*, which signifies "cold;" and De Goguet^b supposes that, instead of Orion, it must have meant the constellation Scorpio, which introduced winter in the days of Job. According to this explanation, the words in Job xxxviii. 31, will run thus: Canst thou loose the bands of Orion, Cesil, or Scorpio? Canst thou dissolve the icy chains by which the earth is held when that constellation appears? Art thou able to convert the cold of winter into the heat of summer?

The third cluster of stars mentioned in Job and Amos are the *Pleiades*, or *Seven stars* in the neck of the constellation *Taurus*, or the Bull. They derive their name from πλεω, *navigo*, as being terrible to mariners, by

* Origin of Laws, vol. i. Dissert. 2.

^b Ibid.

reason of the rains and storms that frequently rise with them. The Latins called them *vergilæ*, from *ver*, the spring, because of their rising about the time of the vernal equinox. The original word in Job ix. 9. xxxviii. 31, is כִּימָה *Cimè*, or "heat," and is consequently the opposite of *Cesil*, or "cold," already considered. Hence, when Job says, ch. xxxviii. 31, "Canst thou bind the sweet influences of the Pleiades?" the meaning is, Canst thou prevent the constellation *Cimè* from dispelling the cold and covering the earth with flowers and fruits? It is evident, therefore, as De Goguet thinks,^a that *Cimè* means the Pleiades, which in Job's time introduced spring: and in Dissert. 2d. he has endeavoured to show that the precession of the equinoxes is such as to make it probable that this was the case. In the prophecy of Amos, the power of God is mentioned as a reason why they should depend upon him. "Seek him who made כִּימָה *Cimè*, the cold, Pleiades or seven stars, and כְּסִיל *Cesil*, the Heat, or Orion,"—him who rules over the various seasons. In Josephus^b we read, that the Jews, when besieged by Antiochus, and in great want of water, were relieved "by a copious shower of rain, which fell at the setting of the Pleiades," the heliacal setting of which, in the days of Antiochus, is computed by Whiston, in a note on the place, to have been in the spring, about February. And this, with an eclipse of the moon, mentioned in the reign of Herod,^c and an allusion to the eclipse of the sun that happened about the time of Julius Cæsar's death, are the only astronomical characters of time that we meet with in Josephus.^d

The *Chambers of the South*, in Job ix. 9, are op-

^a Vol. i. Dissert. 3.

^b Antiq. xiii. 8.

^c Thirteenth of March, Julian period 4710, in the fourth year before Christ, according to Whiston.

^d Antiq. xiv. 10. xvii. 6.

posed to the northern constellations; and because they do not appear at all in our hemisphere, or but for a very short time, they are called by this name to indicate that, with respect to us, they are in a secret or concealed place.*

As for *Mazzaroth*, מְזָרוֹת, or *Mezeruth*, De Goguet^b understands it to mean the signs of the zodiac which appear successively above the horizon. Accordingly the words in Job xxxviii, 32, "Canst thou bring forth *Mazzaroth* in his season?" will mean, Canst thou bring forth each of the twelve constellations in the zodiac in their successive months, so as to produce their attendant diversity in the seasons?

Such is the common explanation of the several constellations mentioned in scripture; but Parkhurst translates them differently; for he makes *Cesil* the heat of an eastern morning, and *Cimè* the cold of an eastern night: which are commonly antipodes to each other. His explanation, indeed, of the whole passages in Job and Amos, which we have been considering, is different from what is commonly assigned them. Thus his translation of Job ix. 9, is, "which maketh עֹשׁ *Osh*, the blight, כְּסִיל *Cesil* the cold, and כִּימָה *Cimè* the genial warmth, and the chambers or thick clouds of the south." His translation of Job xxxviii. 31, 32, is, "Canst thou bind up the delicacies of כִּימָה *Cimè*, the genial warmth, or loose the bands or contractions of כְּסִיל *Cesil*, the cold? Canst thou bring מְזָרוֹת *Mezeruth*, the poisonous corrupting wind, called Sam, or Samiel, in his season? Or canst thou guide עֹשׁ *Osh*, the blight, with his sons?"—meaning the insects it produces on diseased plants. And his translation of Amos v. 8, is, "who maketh כִּימָה *Cimè*, the heat, כְּסִיל *Cesil* the cold?" In short, his

* De Goguet, Dissert. 3.

^b Ibid.

idea is, that the verses in question do not refer to the constellations, but to the effects of heat and cold, blight and the Samiel, on the productions of the earth.^a

The only planet mentioned in Scripture is *Lucifer*, or the morning star, which means Venus, when seen in the morning, before sun-rise ; as *Vesper*, or the evening star, means Venus, when seen in the evening, after sun-set. This is the most brilliant of the planets, always accompanies the sun, never receding farther from him than 45 degrees, and becoming, as she is on the east or west side, alternately the evening or morning star. Hesiod and Homer, like the Sacred Scriptures, make mention only of this planet ; not so much because the others were unknown, as because its brilliancy afforded them the best subject of comparison : for it is generally understood that the five planets, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, being so conspicuous, have been known under different names from immemorial time. Pliny speaks of them very explicitly in the passage quoted below,^b where by *Lucifer* is understood Venus, when seen in the morning before sun-rise ; and by *Vesper*, the same planet seen in the evening after sun-set. The *Hesperus* and *Phosphorus* of the Greeks, or evening and morning star, were at first supposed to be different ; and the discovery that they were the same has been ascribed to Pythagoras.^c If he acquired that information while travelling in the East, it is not very likely that the learned among the Jews would be ignorant of it.

Whilst treating of subjects connected with astronomy, it is natural to notice the eclipse of the sun that hap-

^a Lex. in. Verb.

^b *Suns quidem cinque color est : Saturno candidus, Jovi clarus, Marti igneus, Lucifero candens, Vesperi refulgens, Mercurio radians. Soli cum oritur ardens, postea radians.* (Nat. Hist. Lib. ii. cap. 16.)

^c Playfair's Outlines of Nat. Phil. Art. Astronomy, No. 153, 154.

pened at the time of our Saviour's death, and was extraordinary for several reasons. In the 1st place, all eclipses of the sun happen at the new moon ; but this at the full, when the passover was celebrated. And 2dly, The eclipse at our Saviour's death lasted three hours, or from the sixth to the ninth hour, meaning from mid-day till three in the afternoon ; whereas no ordinary solar eclipse can occasion total darkness over any place for more than a few minutes ; because the eclipse is occasioned by the body of the moon being in a strait line between that place and the sun ; and the body of the sun is so much larger than that of the moon, that the shadow of the moon cannot occasion a total darkness on any one place for any length of time. In both these respects, therefore, that eclipse was extraordinary. But it may still be asked, how that eclipse or darkness was produced ? Was it really by the interposition of the moon between the sun and the earth, or by some other cause ? Let us suppose it to have been occasioned by the moon, and see what follows. When the sun was directly south, at the sixth hour, or 12 o'clock, at Jerusalem, the moon, as being full, must have been directly north. In order, therefore, to obscure the sun, she must have returned from north, by west, to south ; or, in other words, she must have traversed the half of her orbit ; and when in the south, the sun could not have been obscured for three hours together, or from the sixth till the ninth hour, unless she had travelled along with him all that time. But after the eclipse was ended, what was farther to happen ? Nothing less than that the moon was again to outstrip the sun, and in three hours more to hasten through west and north towards the east, that she might appear there, as in her ordinary place, at the twelfth hour. Here are so many difficulties, that a rational inquirer will discard the idea of the moon being

the cause of the darkness, and ascribe it to the immediate agency of God in darkening the atmosphere, that whilst thoughtless men beheld the sufferings of Christ with indifference, nature herself might put on mourning. Nor was this darkness confined to Judea, for we read of a heathen philosopher, in a distant land, who on seeing it, and knowing that it could not be occasioned by an eclipse, exclaimed, "Either the God of nature suffers, or the frame of the world is dissolving." I shall conclude the article with an extract from the *Tracts* of Mr. James Fergusson,* well known for his popular writings on various branches of Natural Philosophy. "I find by calculation," says he, "that the only passover full moon, which fell on a Friday from the twentieth year after our Saviour's birth to the fortieth, was in the 4764th year of the Julian period, which was the thirty-third year of his age, reckoning from the beginning of the year next after that of his birth, according to the vulgar æra; and the said passover full moon was on the third day of April. Phlegon informs us, that in the 202d Olympiad, or 4764th year of the Julian period, there was an eclipse the same as this mentioned here, which could be no other than this; for an ordinary one never totally hides the sun from any one part of the earth above four minutes. Besides, it must have been miraculous, because no eclipse ever happens at full moon, it being at that time in the opposite side of the heavens." One is pleased to hear the sentiments of a person so well qualified to judge.

* P. 193.

PART X.

LAWS OF THE JEWS, AND THEIR SANCTIONS.

THE laws of the Jews are of three kinds, the Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial; and they claim our attention on account of their intrinsic worth, great antiquity, and divine authority. Let us then attend to them in succession.

SECT. I.

The Moral Law.

Clearly revealed to our first parents; became obscured through the prevalence of sin; was promulgated anew from Mount Sinai.

THE Moral law is contained in the ten commandments, which are a summary of that law of nature which was written originally on the heart of our first parents. It was then clear and distinct, and capable of being observed by them had they remained in their state of innocence. But their apostacy obscured it, and it became less and less legible in the hearts and lives of their posterity; till, at the flood, all flesh had corrupted their way, and the imaginations of their hearts were only evil continually. It was then that God appeared in a visible manner to punish the universal depravity, and place the subsequent generations of men in more favourable circumstances. He saw that the rays of knowledge had diverged so much, and become so faint, that they were incapable of guiding men in the way of duty. The light of prophecy, indeed, had been gathering strength

among the few who were favoured of the Lord ; but the light of the moral law had become completely darkened among the multitude, through the ignorance and corruption that were in them. Their fate was therefore fixed. An universal deluge destroyed those who were too wicked to reform : and from Noah and his family, as from a new centre, proceeded the generations of men, the chain of prophecy, and the republication of religion. But Noah and his family stood in very different circumstances from our first progenitor. He himself was indeed perfect in his generations, and set a comparatively perfect example of piety to the generations before and after the flood, but it was neither as the federal head of his posterity, nor free from glaring inconsistency. He, who had been firm as a rock in the midst of a corrupt and degenerate age, fell in solitude, and was guilty both of drunkenness and incest ; and his family but too soon showed the revival of those vices which had been fatal to the antediluvians. We need not trace minutely the progress of iniquity between the times of Noah and the giving of the law ; but every one, in the least conversant with the subject, will be ready to acknowledge that, whatever progress the nations made in science and the arts, they made none in religion and morals. Having left the sublime doctrine of the Unity of God, they created to themselves numberless local deities. The light of revelation accordingly became again obscured : and, though the chain of prophecy had acquired strength by new revelations after the flood, which served to confirm the faith of the pious, the duties that mankind owed to God and their neighbour were generally neglected. Insomuch, that when the Israelites left Egypt, the state before the flood had nearly returned ; darkness had covered the earth, and gross darkness the people, so that it became the divine Majesty to appear

anew, and show that there was a God who ruled in the earth. Hence those signs which he performed in Egypt, and mighty works in the field of Zoan, where he vanquished the pretended deities of the heathen; brought his people from thence with a strong hand and outstretched arm; led them triumphantly by a pillar of fire and of cloud; divided the Red Sea; completely discomfited their enemies, and carried them into the wilderness to receive a new system of instruction, and place them as a lamp to give light to the nations. There God appeared in a visible manner; delivered in awful majesty, and with an audible voice, from the top of Mount Sinai, the ten commandments; wrote them with his own finger on two tables of stone,* and ordered them to be kept as a sacred deposit. Thus was God pleased to give to man a more sure directory for duty than that of tradition, which, at best, was uncertain, even when aided by the general longevity of the patriarchs, and visible appearances of the divine Majesty; and was then become doubly so, by the contracted limits of human life. On the written word, therefore, were they called to depend; to the law and the testimony were they bound to resort.—It is needless to dwell on the meaning of the different precepts in the decalogue, since they are generally known; but we ought to notice the very great importance in which these precepts were held by Jehovah, since they were selected by him, and delivered in so public and solemn a manner. Indeed, when rightly explained, in connection with the principles from which they proceed, they are a summary of every religious and moral duty. Nor should it be forgotten, that they are universally and perpetually binding; for,

* Orpheus seems to have heard of these; for, in the first of the *Fragmenta* ascribed to him, and entitled *Περὶ Οὐνοῦ*, he calls them *θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων νόμοι*, v. 33, 34.

although our Saviour came to abolish the ceremonial and judicial laws, he came to confirm and fulfil that which is moral.

SECT. II.

The Ceremonial Law.

1st. Taught the Jews the leading doctrines of religion in a sensible and impressive manner. 2d. Served to preserve them from idolatry—by removing that ignorance of God which introduced it—by giving them a full and perfect ritual of their own—by appointing certain marks to distinguish them from idolaters—by restricting most of their rites to particular places, persons, and times—by prohibiting too familiar an intercourse with the heathen nations—and by the positive prohibition of every idolatrous rite. Here the singular laws of the Jews explained, such as sacrificing to devils, making the children pass through the fire to Moloch, using divination, observing times, eating with, or at the blood, seething a kid in its mother's milk, rounding the corners of their heads, and marring the corners of their beards, making cuttings in their flesh for the dead, confounding the distinctive dresses of the sexes, sowing their fields with divers seeds, plowing with an ox and an ass together, allowing cattle of different kinds to gender, using garments of linen and woollen, condemning eunuchism, bringing the hire of a whore, or the price of a dog, to the house of the Lord. 3d. The ceremonial law served to prepare their minds for a brighter dispensation. Reasons assigned for its comparative obscurity. The gradual abolition of the ceremonial law.

SOME writers on Jewish antiquities have thought that the ceremonial laws were merely arbitrary, and that the reasons of them were only to be sought for in the will of God, which he has not chosen to reveal; making them thereby to differ essentially from the Christian institutions, which are said to be *λογικον γαλα*, rational milk, and *λογικον λατρευια*, a rational service.* But this is surely derogatory to the character of God, and hurtful to that obedience which he required. A more natural reason is therefore to be found in our ignorance of history, and of the relations that existed between the Jews and the neighbouring nations; nor should we overlook

* 1 Peter ii. 2. Rom. xii. 1.

the natural language in which laws are expressed, which is authoritative and absolute, in order to give them the greater weight, and prevent those cavils which might be raised against the reasons assigned by the law-giver. Yet, the study of the ceremonial law is pleasant, both on account of its very great antiquity, its frequent reference to the laws of neighbouring nations, its suitability to the state of the Jews to whom it was given, and its utility in explaining many parts of the old Testament, and showing us the liberty wherewith Christ has made his people free. Let us attend therefore to it particularly, and see what the intention of Jehovah was in giving it to the Jews.

There are three ends which it evidently served. It taught the leading doctrines of religion in a sensible and impressive manner : it served as a defence against idolatry ; and prepared their minds for a brighter dispensation.

It was said, in the *first* place, that the ceremonial law taught the Jews the leading doctrines of religion in a sensible and impressive manner. Thus, it taught the unity of God by having only one presence ; one most holy place as the seat of that presence ; one altar at which all the priests were to minister, and all the sacrifices to be offered ;^a and only one tabernacle and temple consecrated to that one Jehovah, the creator of all things, of what power or dignity soever they were conceived to be.—And, as it taught the unity of God, so it also taught the doctrine of a general providence. The throne in the tabernacle and temple was only the figure of his throne in the heavens ; and the daily sacrifices, the burnt offerings appointed for the sabbaths every week, for the new moons every month, and for the feast

^a Lev. xvii. 1—9.

of trumpets, on the first day of the civil year, were all intended to impress the Israelites with a deep sense of the superintending care of God at all times and in all places.—Nor did the ceremonial law inculcate a general providence only; it also taught the particular interest which Jehovah took in the works of his hands: for the whole of it encouraged every Hebrew to ask every blessing from Jehovah as their God; and to fear the evils denounced on disobedience as inflicted by him. Indeed, every sacrifice and offering were constant evidences of this truth, and encouragements to this hope: for they taught that, while God superintended the general affairs of the universe, he took a particular interest in the family of Abraham. The Hebrew worship also taught the necessity of holiness in every worshipper: for, if we consider the directions for consecrating the tabernacle and temple, for hallowing the sanctuary, for purifying and consecrating the priests and Levites, that they might be hallowed to minister before Jehovah, we shall easily observe that they all taught holiness to the Lord. Indeed, nothing unholy or unclean were allowed to approach the presence, till cleansed by the washings and sacrifices it directed; and such purity in lesser matters inferred a holiness of a higher nature, and taught the importance of being holy as God is holy, as well as of being holy because he is so. Let it only be remarked farther on this part of the subject, that the ceremonial law inculcated the doctrine of rewards and punishments, for it was sanctioned by them. The Hebrew law consisted of three parts, the moral, ceremonial, and judicial: the two last of which were, properly speaking, the law of God by Moses; for the moral law was given together with the very nature of man at his first creation. Now the ceremonial and judicial laws had their proper sanction in temporal rewards and punishments: but the

moral law had from the beginning its sanction in future rewards and punishments : and so actually had them at the very time it was promulgated from Sinai, and on the same evidence that had been given to Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, and all the pious patriarchs. I enter not into the dispute how far the doctrine of a future state entered into the design of the Mosaical law, as a constituent part of that constitution. It is sufficient for us at present to know, that the Hebrews did not remain ignorant of these future rewards and punishments under their ritual; and did actually believe them from the common principles that made these doctrines the faith of their forefathers, and the belief of all the nations of the earth. Could they not learn, for instance, and did they not infer (as Lowman has justly observed in his *Rationale of the Jewish Ritual*,) from the translation of Enoch, the obedience of Noah, and faith of Abraham, that God is a rewarder of those that diligently seek him? When God appeared to Moses, and sent him to deliver the oppressed Israelites, he revealed himself under this title, "I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob." But these were all dead, and had not received the promises, and yet God makes himself known by the name of their God. If the Hebrews therefore believed the immortality of the soul, as we see they did, and if they believed that God was the rewarder of those who diligently sought him, as they accounted Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob to have done, without receiving the promises, might they not have concluded, that God is not the God of the dead but of the living; and that he, as their God, who had promised to be their exceeding great reward, would give them an inheritance in his heavenly city, and crown them with immortality in that better country, even an heavenly, which they so ardently sought after?—Such

then was the first design of the ceremonial law. It taught the Jews the leading doctrines of religion in a sensible and impressive manner; confirming thus, what the moral law had said concerning the unity of God, a general and particular providence, the necessity of holiness in those who approach him, and the doctrine of rewards and punishments.

A *second* use of the ceremonial law was to *preserve the Israelites from idolatry*; and this it did in various ways. 1st, By removing that ignorance of God which introduced idolatry. 2dly, By giving them a full and perfect ritual of their own. 3dly, By appointing certain public marks to distinguish them from idolaters. 4thly, By restricting most of their sacred rites to particular places, persons, and times. 5thly, By prohibiting too familiar an intercourse with the heathen nations. And 6thly, By the positive prohibition of every idolatrous rite. In illustrating these particulars it will be difficult to keep within proper limits; but the following observations are suggested.

It was said, in the *first* place, that the ceremonial law was a preservative against idolatry, by removing the principles that supported it; viz. ignorance of the true character of God, and ascription of divine honours to inferior intelligences. From the just notions it gave the Israelites of God and his government, it taught them that all other gods besides him were false, vain idols, the works of men's hands. It showed that those beings whom the heathens worshipped, whether the higher intelligences, that were supposed to inhabit the sun, moon, and stars, or the dæmons and departed souls of heroes and other great men, were not gods, but the creatures of the one Jehovah, and obedient to him. It taught that God was the fountain of all these mercies, and that he alone gave rain and fruitful seasons; and by

so doing it prevented them from falling into the error of inferior intelligences, as the guardians and benefactors of mankind. It allowed of no such thing as inferior divine worship, but represented God as a jealous God, who would not give his glory to another, nor his praise to graven images. In these ways, then, it removed the principles which served to support the practice of idolatry.*—But it was observed, 2dly, that it preserved the Israelites from idolatry, by giving them a ritual of their own, every way fitted to their circumstances. At the time it was promulgated, they were in such circumstances (the nations around them having all sensible objects of worship,) that if it had not then pleased God to appoint them a ritual, and by that to make them a separate nation and people, it seems morally impossible to have kept them from idolatry; and then the knowledge and worship of the true God must have been lost in the world. The same reasons that made a ritual convenient, and, in their circumstances, even necessary, made a full ritual as convenient and necessary; such as should reach to every part of worship, as it was intended to be a hedge against idolatry every way. The numberless variety of ceremonies has often been remarked: many regarding the presence of Jehovah; others the tabernacle and temple; others the priests; others the sacrifices, offerings, and proper rites of each: a vast variety were directed for their festivals, purifications, cleanness of food, births, marriages, deaths, mournings; and, to a superficial observer, all, or at least the most of them, to no purpose. But let him reflect on the consequences of one less minute: they would have supplied its defects by amendments of their own, and, notwithstanding their own law, would have borrowed from their

* Lowman, Rationale of the Jewish Ritual.

neighbours what they imagined had not been sufficiently provided for by their own lawgiver. Thus the law would have failed in one of its designs, to prevent their falling into idolatry. A people so fond of ceremony as the Jews were, would have been uneasy and impatient without them. When they saw that their neighbours had rites for every occasion, they would either have adopted them for their own use, or have invented others of their own imagination, of equal danger, or of worse consequence.*

—Another circumstance respecting the Hebrew ritual was, that it was uniformly held out as preferable to every other. From their long abode in Egypt, it is easy to conceive the Jews well acquainted and even fond of their ceremonies. Their reputation, antiquity, and confirmation by miracles, would all add some weight to this assertion. It became, therefore, any rule, if it was to guard them against their influence, to come recommended by a higher authority than the considerations of antiquity, the use of the wisest people, or even the oracles of dæmons. Accordingly, we find it recommended as the law of God himself, and given to them as his peculiar people. Hence the common preface to each of its laws; “The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel and say unto them:” and hence a proper answer to the objection of its being unbecoming the wisdom of God to ratify, in so solemn a manner, a bare system of rites and ceremonies.^b—Nor should we overlook even the burdensome nature of the Jewish ceremonial, as a mean of preserving them from idolatry: for, while it was burdensome by the number of its precepts, extending from the greatest things to the most minute; by their rigour in demanding obedience and punishing disobedience; by their comparative inutility,

* Lowman, *ut supra*.

^b *Ibid*.

since they could neither obtain the pardon of moral guilt, nor impart virtue, nor procure admittance to heaven; by their expense, since they demanded all the first born of animals, the tithes, first fruits, and much trouble in attending feasts; by the constant attention they required to prevent contracting ceremonial guilt, and the expense of removing it; and by the length of time that was requisite before they could be distinctly understood and readily acted upon; yet this very burdensomeness, which attended the ceremonial institute, served as a mean to keep them from idolatry: for they could never forget that it was imposed by the Almighty as a punishment for their making and worshipping the golden calf; and that, to the conscientious observer, it left little time or inclination for searching after and adopting the rites of the heathens.* Nor should it be forgotten, that it was strictly enjoined them to add nothing to it, nor to take any thing from it. In the Hebrew government, the sole authority of making laws was in Jehovah, as their king. No magistrate therefore in that government, whether judge, sanhedrin, senate, congregation of Israel, or popular assembly, either separately or jointly, had power to repeal any of the laws enacted by Jehovah, or to publish new laws in his name; the doing of which would have been to make laws for his kingdom without his authority.^b Hence the true reason of the temporal rewards and punishments which were attached to the ceremonial ritual. They were suited to the rude state of the Jewish mind after a long period of bondage: they came from God, and not from the heathen deities: they were suited to his character as their king under the Theocracy. Nations can only be punished as nations in the present life; and it would have been raising the value of cere-

* Spencer, de Leg. Heb. Ritual. Lib. i. cap. 14.

^b Lowman.

monial obedience too high to have sanctioned it with eternal rewards or eternal punishments.* All these observations tend to show that the ceremonial law kept them from idolatry by removing their ignorance of the true God, and ascription of divine honours to inferior intelligences; and, by giving them a ritual of their own every way fitted to their circumstances, superior to that of Egypt, leaving them little time for attending to any other, and not to be added to by any person but God.

But, besides defending them from idolatry, by removing that ignorance of God which introduced it, and giving them a perfect ritual of their own, the ceremonial law promoted the same end, 3dly, by appointing certain public marks to distinguish them from idolaters.

The whole ritual was a distinctive mark, but there were some parts of it more so than others. Thus circumcision, while it was a seal of the covenant of grace, was also a sign of the covenant of peculiarity. For, as the worshippers of idols had often some distinguishing mark on their bodies, to show their attachment to the idols they worshipped, so did God cause this to be imprinted on the bodies of the Israelites, to teach them that, as the lusts of the flesh prevailed among heathens, and around their temples, so they should mortify these lusts, and carry on their bodies the distinctive mark of their own God. The sabbath also was another mark to distinguish the Jews from idolaters: for, as the heathens believed in the eternity of the world, and neglected the observance of the sabbath; so God renewed to the Israelites the original observance of his holy day, as commemorative of his having created the world, and consequently of its not being eternal; enforcing it with the additional consideration, that they had once been bondmen among

* Lowman. Spencer, Lib. i. cap. 4.

these idolaters in Egypt, when they were not permitted to observe it, either as a day of rest or of public devotion.^a If it should be said that idolaters, as well as Jews, had the knowledge of a sabbath, it may be observed that, although they knew of a seventh day, they knew but little of a sabbath. And we know that in later times, the Romans ridiculed the Jews, for their strict observance of it. Thus Seneca says, "they lose almost the seventh part of their time in idleness."^b Juvenal upbraids them thus: "to whom every seventh day was a day of sloth, and unconnected with any useful part of life."^c And Martial^d calls them, by way of contempt, "Sabbatarioi," Sabbatarians.^e

When God, therefore, renewed the commandment of the sabbath, it taught the Jews that, as the heathens had their *ἡμέραι ἐργασμεναι* and *ἐορτασμοι*, their working days and feast, or sacred festival days, so should they; but for nobler and better purposes: viz. the six days of the week for ordinary employment, and the seventh for the worship and service of the true God. It is indeed worthy of remark that, in the law of Moses, the institution of the sabbath, and the mention of idolatry, are commonly conjoined, to show that the one is an antidote to the other;^f and that the worship of idols and violation of the sabbath are also conjoined.^g Nor should it be forgotten, that the great strictness which was commanded on the sabbath evidently had two ends in view;

^a Deut. v. 15. ^b "Septimam ferè ætatis suæ partem perdant vacando."—Apud August. de Civit. Dei, Lib. vi. cap. 11.

^c ——— "cui septima quæque fuit lux.

Ignava, et partem vitæ non attigit ullam."—Sat. xiv. 106, 107.

^d Lib. iv. Epigr. 4.

^e See more in Ovid, Art. Amand. Lib. i. 417. and Persius, Sat. v. 184.

^f Exod. xxiii. 12, 13. Lev. xix. 3, 4. xxvi. 1, 2. Ezek. xx. 18—20. Exod. xxxiv. 17, 18, 21. Levit. xix. 29, 30.

^g Ezek. xx. 16, 24. xxii. 4, 8, 9. xxiii. 37, 38. 2 Kings, xvi. 3, 18.

the solemnization of the mind for sacred purposes, and striking against the leading violations of it among idolaters: for they gathered no wood,^a kindled no fire in their houses,^b prepared no victuals,^c sold no goods,^d and carried no burdens.^e The three public festivals were also public marks which distinguished the Jews from the idolaters: for the passover, among other ends, showed God's judgment against the gods and idols of Egypt; pentecost tended to root out idolatry, as commemorative of the giving of the law; and the feast of tabernacles contributed to the same end, by leading them to acknowledge Jehovah as the God of seasons. Nor should we overlook that public and particular mark of the appointment of meats and animals into clean and unclean, as articles of food, or destined for sacrifice. Those quadrupeds that were clean had three distinctive marks: they chewed the cud, divided the hoof, and were cloven-footed, or had no connecting membrane between the divisions. The birds were rather named than classed; and the fishes that were eaten were all that had both fins and scales.^f But the question is, why God selected these distinctions, and forbade all to be eaten which wanted them? Some have thought that the animals were forbidden because injurious to health;^g many of them being either positively noxious, or not nutritious. But God gave no instructions of this kind, either to the patriarchs or to the church of Christ; and taste, as to dishes, has exceedingly varied in different ages, and among different nations. Thus hares, and swine, which were forbidden in the Jewish law, are now accounted good; and camel's flesh, which was also forbidden, was formerly eaten by the ancients,^h and is so still. Some

^a Numb. xv. 32.

^b Exod. xxxv. 3.

^c Exod. xvi. 23.

^d Neb. xiii. 20.

^e Jer. xvii. 31.

^f Lev. xi. 9.

^g Grotius, Comment. Lev. xi. 3.

^h Aristotle, Hist. Animal. Lib. vi. cap. 26.

of the forbidden birds, too, were accounted delicacies among other nations. Thus the swan is said by Athenæus^a to be seldom absent from any feast. And Aristotle^b and Albertus Magnus^c say, that “the young of hawks were fat, and very much liked.” Others have thought the distinction of meats into clean and unclean founded in some natural uncleanness in the creatures which would defile the man;^d but this is unsatisfactory.^e Others, that certain characters and vices were shadowed under these animals; as pusillanimity in the hare, vile desires in the hog, ignorance in the owl, rapine in the hawk; ruminating animals, those who digested truth; dividing the hoof, those whose who distinguished good from evil; cloven-footed, or having no connecting membrane, those who made no compromise between sin and duty,^f &c.; but this is more specious than real. Others, like Justin Martyr, have thought, that they were a constant test of obedience to the legislator: but had that been the case, he would have forbidden some that were agreeable to the taste, rather than disagreeable. Others resolve it into the will of God, as Spanheim; or to teach them temperance and abstinence, as Tertullian. But the true reasons, according to Spencer, seem to be, that they might be a peculiar people, as it is expressed in Lev. xx. 24—26; that the observance of that law might be a lesson of sanctity, that they were dedicated to the Lord;^g that it might mystically signify that the Jews were clean, and the Gentiles unclean, as appears from Peter’s vision of a sheet from heaven;^h and especially that it might keep them from following the practices of the heathen: for Chæremon tells us,ⁱ that the Egyptian

^a Page 130.

^b Hist. Animal. Lib. vi. cap. 7.

^c De Animal. Lib. xxiii. p. 614.

^d Matt. xv. 11.

^e Simon de Muis Var. Sacr. in Exod. xxii.

^f St. Barnabas, Novatian.

^g Lev. xi. 43—45. xx. 24—26.

^h Acts x. 11—16.

ⁱ Apud Porphyr.

priests abstained from all flesh, and whatever animals had solid or divided hoofs, or wanted horns; and all birds which were carnivorous: but that many abstained from all flesh whatever. Now, having seen these things in Egypt, the Israelites had a distinction under certain limitations. For, had they been left in uncertainty, they might have shunned the eating of animals, as the Egyptian priests and devotees did, from a superstitious opinion of their holiness or impurity; and as the other ancient nations did, who had their likings and dislikings, but not fixed by divine authority as the Jews. Thus, some abhorred swine, and would neither eat nor sacrifice them, while others did both.^a The Copts killed and ate the males of goats, but the females were held sacred.^b Cæsar says, that the ancient Britons accounted it unlawful to eat the hare, the hen, or the goose.^c Porphyry says, that the Phœnicians and Egyptians would rather eat human flesh than that of a cow.^d The Egyptians ate none of the woolled animals, nor the young of the goats.^e Plutarch says, that the ass and the red cow were exceedingly hated.^f Porphyry^g tells us that the Egyptians refused eating turtle: and we have seen before that they refused fishes, either because sacred or polluted. Amidst that diversity therefore of tastes as to food, it was of importance to teach the Israelites the things that were lawful and unlawful: and it ought not to be overlooked, that many of the animals they were allowed to eat were accounted sacred by idolaters: and therefore fitted to keep them at a distance from each other. But, whilst treating of meats clean and unclean, it may naturally be asked, what was the origin of the Jewish antipathy to swine's flesh? Tacitus says, it was because "the same itch which

^a Lucian, de Syria Dea.

^c De Bello Gall. Lib. v.

^e Juvenal, Sat. xv.

^b Elian, Hist. Lib. x. cap. 23.

^d De Abstinen. Lib. ii. p. 58.

^f P. 362.

^g Lib. iv.

affects the swine affected the Israelites, and was the cause of their expulsion from Egypt.”^a Porphyry says, it was because “they were not reared in their country.”^b But the history of the dæmons which entered into the swine in Matt. viii. 32, disproves this. Petronius thinks it was because “they adored them.”^c And most of the heathens ascribed it to their obstinacy.^d The true reasons, however, were 1st, that they divided the hoof, but did not chew the cud, and were, therefore, legally unclean. 2ndly, They were naturally unclean above others in their taste and habits, 2 Pet. ii. 22, and therefore disliked both by Jews and Gentiles: and 3dly, They were hated, because “those who apostatized from their religion in persecuting times, ate swine’s flesh as a mark of abjuring Judaism;”^e and because “they were used by the heathens in purifications, sacrifices, magical rites, festivals, and the ratification of covenants.”^f Their hatred, therefore, of these animals was evidently connected with that horror which God wished to inspire against all idolatry.^g So much for meats clean and unclean. A 4th defence which the ceremonial law afforded against idolatry, was the confining of most of the sacred things to certain places, persons, and times. Before the giving of the law, they worshipped where they pleased, but after the giving of the law, this was forbidden; the tabernacle was enjoined as the place, and afterwards the temple,^h where they were to offer the first fruits, pay their vows, observe their sacred rights, and make known their requests in a pub-

^a Hist. Lib. v. sub init.

^b De Abstinen. Lib. i. sec. 14.

^c “Judæus licet et porcium numen adoret.”—In Fragment. C. 116.

^d 2 Maccab. vi. 18. vii. throughout.

^e 2 Maccab. vii. 1.

^f Varro, *dere rustica*, Lib. ii. cap. 4. Ovid. *Fast.* Lib. i. 349. Horat. *Serm.* Lib. ii. 264. Is. lxi. 17. lxxv. 4. Juvenal, *Sat.* xi. 83, 84. Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 640.

^g Spencer, *Legib. Heb. Rit.* Lib. i. cap. 7.

^h Levit. xvii. 3—5. Deut. xii. 5—13.

lie and national manner. This regard to place was certainly a mean of preventing idolatry: for, since they might not sacrifice but at Jerusalem, they were hindered, even when at a distance from that place, from frequenting the idols and altars of the heathens their neighbours, which were commonly in groves, fields, high-places, or hills. But, if binding their sacred rites to the tabernacle and temple was a defence against idolatry, so also was the confining of the priesthood to particular persons. In no nation was there a priesthood like that of the Jews. Others were called individually by the people, or recommended by their dexterity, or rank, or connections; but theirs was from birth, and confined to the tribe of Levi. They were chosen in place of the first-born of Israel, and had their office confirmed to them by the blossoming of Aaron's rod, in Numb. xvii. 8—11, and the infliction of leprosy on Uzziah the king, when he attempted to encroach upon it, 2 Chron. xxvi. 18—20. Before the law, the heads of families were the priests; but this choice of the tribe of Levi excluded all others, and was productive to Israel of many advantages: for it prevented sacrifices any where else than at the temple, since they were accountable: it created an host to fight for the glory of God, and the honour of their order, against idolatry; it acted both on a regard for principle, and the *esprit du corps*; whilst the instructions they communicated, and the example they exhibited, would naturally tend to check their countrymen in their desire for idolatry. The confining of many of their sacred things to certain times was also I mean to promote the same end. Thus, all their feasts depending on the appearance of the moon, tended to show them that she was only a creature, since, whilst idolaters paid her homage, they were worshipping the true God. The Jewish sabbath also, and

solemn times being defined by the number seven, was against idolatry ; for the sabbath of days or weekly sabbath, the sabbath of weeks, or pentecost, the sabbath of months, or the fast of the seventh month, the sabbath of years, or the sabbatical year, and the sabbath of seven times seven years, or the jubilee, all reminded them of the creation, when the planets, the objects of worship, were created by God. The beginning of the civil year, likewise, was much employed in heathen rites. Thus, the Zabians, or worshippers of the heavenly host, among the Chaldeans, offered sacrifices on the first and second day, had a fast on the eighth, and on the fifteenth they had a feast to Sammael, the angel of death, the prince of the air, and that ancient serpent who deceived Eve. The Egyptians also honoured September, or the beginning of the year, because then the Nile had retired, the soil had become dry, and labour was renewed. Now God, to counteract these, appointed the feast of trumpets on the first day ; the 10th was the day of annual expiation ; and from the 15th to the 23d were the feast of tabernacles. The Jews had, therefore, more feasts in this month to the true God, than the heathens had to their false deities. Perhaps even their morning and evening sacrifices were, among other reasons, appointed in opposition to those heathen sacrifices in the night to the dead and the dii inferi, which were not always the most chaste. One thing is certain, however, that by this limitation of sacred rights to particular places, persons, and times, the Jews were prevented much from imitating the practices of their heathen neighbours. They had a splendor in their worship that struck the senses ; an order that pleased the mind ; and a purity becoming the Being they were called upon to address, which was very different from the obscene rites of other nations.^a A 5th defence

^a Spencer, *De Leg. Heb. Ritual. Lib. i. cap. 8. 10.*

which the ceremonial law afforded the Jews against idolatry, was the prohibition of too familiar an intercourse with heathen nations. It was impossible for them to avoid the common intercourse of life, when business required; but that was different from making them their bosom friends, or connecting themselves with them by marriage. Accordingly such intimate connexions were expressly forbidden, lest they should be led after their idols; and a national antipathy was created against all strangers, which was noticed and condemned by heathen writers who were ignorant of the cause. Thus, Justin, Lib. xxxvi. mistaking the cause, but acknowledging the fact, says, that "the Jews were expelled Egypt for the leprosy, and contracted thereby a hatred to all nations." Juvenal adverts to the same thing.^a Tacitus speaks also of this hatred in the following words; "Among themselves subsist inflexible fidelity, and a ready compliance with the calls of pity; but towards every other nation they entertain a deadly hatred."^b And St. Paul says, that they were, "contrary to all men."^c It is upon this principle that Spencer^d explains the exclusion of a bastard from the congregation of the Lord to the tenth generation, viz. as relating to this intercourse with strangers:^e the word *ממזר* *Memzer*, signifying both a stranger in general, and a bastard begotten between a stranger, or heathen, and an Israelite. So that if explained of a bastard so produced, it was calling in the love of offspring to keep them from connexion with strange women, since an indelible stigma

^a Romanas autem soliti contemnere leges,
Judaicum ediscunt, et servant, ac metuunt jus,
Tradidit arcano quodcunque volumine Moses.

Sat. xiv. 100—103.

^b "Apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu, adversus omnes alios hostile odium." Hist. Lib. v. sub initium.

^c 1 Thess. ii. 15. ^d De Leg. Heb. Rit. Lib. i. cap. 6. ^e Deut. xxiii. 2.

was fixed on the fruit of that intercourse: and if explained of a stranger or heathen, it meant that those continuing such, were never allowed to enter the precincts of the first temple, where no court of the Gentiles was allowed; and never within the sacred fence of the second temple, which was devoted to Israelites, and those who, being proselytes of righteousness, were equivalent to such. Intercourse with heathens in common life was dangerous; but intercourse in religion more so. There was a politeness in consorts which was dangerous to the Jew, if going to the heathen temple, and not profitable to the heathen in entering the sacred ground. His taste and habits were widely different from those of the Jews: and idle curiosity, or visible levity and contempt, were unfit to be seen by those who, in the court of the women, were engaged in prayer; or who, in the courts of Israel and of the priests, were solemnly employed in sacrifices and praise. A dereliction of idolatry, therefore, and a visible change of sentiments and conduct, together with a submission to the national rite of circumcision, were required of such before they could be admitted to the full participation of Jewish privileges. It is for want of a right attention to this end of the Jewish law, that some have aspersed it as encouraging a sour and unbenevolent temper; whereas, when rightly understood, it is directly the reverse. It enjoined the love of their neighbour in the strongest manner, but forbade intercourse with those who would make them forget the principles of their religion, and thereby subject them to the displeasure of God.—The 6th and last defence which I shall mention that the ceremonial law afforded the Jews for keeping them from idolatry, was the positive prohibition of every idolatrous rite. Thus, in Lev. xvii. 7, they were forbidden to offer sacrifices to the devils, שְׂעִירִים, *shorim*,

or hirci-footed deities of Egypt) which were described by us when treating of the false gods of the heathen,) because it was most debasing to human nature, and dishonouring to God. They were forbidden to make their children pass through the fire unto Moloch,^a because some burnt them alive in honour of the sun ; and others shook them over, or threw them through the flames, by way of lustration, to ensure the favour of the pretended divinity, and devote them to his service. We noticed the cruelty of the first of these, when surveying the objects from the outside of the temple ; and in confirmation of the last, we may remark, that Maimonides^b says, “ we have seen midwives take the new-born children wrapt up, and having placed them above fire, with smoke of a disagreeable smell, move them backwards and forwards through the smoke.”^c Varro tells us,^d that in the Palilia, at Rome, they did the same thing for the purpose of expiation ; and Ovid informs us of their manner of doing it in the passage quoted below :^e whilst Maimonides, in the above quoted place, mentions, as an inducement to parents to make their children pass through the fire to Moloch, that the worshippers of fire asserted, that all the children who were not so treated would die in infancy. These, no doubt, were the remains of those sentiments which actuated idolaters in Moses’ days, and against which Jehovah saw it needful to provide. But besides this visible countenance, which they were forbidden to give to idolatry, we find God also prohibiting the approaches to it, by prohibiting every kind of divination and magic. Divination and magic are two different things ; the one

^a Levit. xviii. 21.

^b Mor. Neb. Part iii. ch. 37.

^c See also Ezek. xx. 26. xxiii. 37.

^d Apud Scholia. Horatii.

^e Moxque per ardentis stipulæ crepitantis acervos

Trajiciis celeri strenua membra pedc.—Pastor. Lib. iv. 731.

being a pretension to more than human knowledge, and the other to more than human power. Both were known among the heathens, and prohibited to the Jews. In Levit. xix. 26, we are told, that they were not to use divination by means of serpents, as the original words signify; which Heinsius,^a Bochart,^b Selden,^c and others, have shown to be one of the most early kinds of enchantment. Hence Ophion is the name of the most ancient diviner among the Greeks. Pythius and Python were the names of those who presided over auguries. Balaam used this kind of enchantment when called against Israel, for it is said in Numb. xxiv. 1, that "he went not out as at other times, to seek for enchantments." (נחשים)—At last, however, it came to mean any omen taken from accidental circumstances. Accordingly, Maimonides^d says, that "the divination by serpents, in the later Jewish writings, meant as if, when a morsel of meat fell from one's mouth, or his staff from his hand, he would not go to such a place that day; since, if he went, he would be unfortunate in business." It therefore corresponded with another injunction in the Mosaic law, that "they were not to observe times."^e Indeed, in the law they are joined together, as being near akin; for in beginning journeys, contracting marriages, engaging in war, &c. the heathens nations, from the earliest times, appear to have used divination by birds, serpents, clouds, the viscera of animals, and staffs, to learn whether they would be successful or not; such a conduct engendered superstition, prevented often the transaction of public and private business, and was a virtual want of acknowledgment of, and dependence on, God as the sovereign of the universe. They were therefore forbidden to

^a Aristarch. Sac. p. 18, 19.

^b De Animal. Sacr. P. i. col. 21, 22.

^c De Diis. Syr. Synt. ii. cap. 17.

^d De Idolat. cap. vii. sect. 4.

^e Levit. xix. 26.

imitate the nations in these respects, Deut. xviii. 14. In the above-mentioned Levit. xix. 26, besides being forbidden to use enchantments and observe times, they were also forbidden to eat with the blood, or rather (*by ol,*) "at the blood." For the Zabians, or worshippers of the host of heaven among the Chaldeans and Egyptians, when they sacrificed an animal to their dæmons, poured out the blood, and ate a part of the flesh at the place where the blood was poured out, and sometimes a part of the blood also, believing that they thereby held communion with the dæmon. The words of Maimonides are, "Know, that although blood be reckoned unclean by the Zabians, yet it was eaten by them; for this reason, that they thought it to be the food of the dæmons, and that he who ate it had, by so doing, communion with them, so as to converse familiarly with them, and to learn future events; since the common people are wont to ascribe these things to dæmons. There were some among them, however, to whom the eating of blood was very disagreeable; these, slaying some animal, received its blood into some vessel, or hole, ate the flesh of the slain animal, sitting round the blood in a circle; imagining, that whilst they were eating the flesh, the dæmons feasted on the blood, as their food; and that by these means, friendship, brotherhood, and familiarity were contracted between the worshippers and them, since they all ate at one table, and reclined on one couch. They besides thought that this was of much avail in procuring a vision of the dæmon in their sleep, and the knowledge of future events." The author of the book Zohar, who lived several ages before Maimonides, says the same thing, as appears by the quotation from it in Spencer's De

* Mor. Neb. Part iii, chap. 46.

Leg. Heb. Ritual. Lib. ii. cap. 15. Accordingly, Jehovah alludes to this when he says in Ezek. xxxiii. 25, 26. "Ye eat with (or rather at) the blood, and lift up your eyes towards your idols; and shed (or pour out) blood (into a vessel or ditch for their food:) and shall ye possess the land?" And to this does the apostle refer, when he says, "I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils (or dæmons.) Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils; ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils."^a There were times, indeed, when they were commanded to pour out the blood of the animals they slew; but it was either to be like water, that is, as a common thing, when they killed animals for food,^b or to be covered with dust, when they killed venison, in opposition to the heathen sportsmen, who left it exposed as food to the god of the chase^c. What classical scholar does not recollect the sacrifice which Ulysses offered to the dii inferi? a part of the blood of which the shade of Teresias the seer quaffed, before he could tell Ulysses his destinies; the shade of Anticlea, his mother, tasted before she could speak to her son; and the shade of Agamemnon had also to taste before he could declare the cause of his death.^d The precept, prohibiting the "seething a kid in its mother's milk," which is no less than thrice repeated,^e has often been quoted with ridicule by the thoughtless, and has been variously explained by Commentators; some thinking that the dish was in-nutricious, and others that it was to keep them from inhumanity to animals; but the true reason was, that it was applied by the Zabians and other heathens to idolatrous purposes: for they were wont to boil a kid in

^a 1 Cor. x. 20, 21.

^b Deut. xii. 15, 16.

^c Levit. xvii. 13.

^d Odyss. xi. 97. 152. 389.

^e Exod. xxiii. 19. xxxiv. 25. Deut. xiv. 21.

its mother's milk in honour of the *dii rustici*, who presided over trees, to ensure their fertility. Accordingly, we are informed by Dr. Cudworth, in his *Treatise on the Lord's Supper*, and on the authority of an old Karaite writer, that "it was a custom of the ancient heathen, when they had gathered in all their fruits, to take a kid and boil it in the dam's milk, and then, in a magical way, to go about and besprinkle with it all their trees and fields, and gardens and orchards, thinking, by these means, they would make them fruitful, and bear again more abundantly the following year." Horace mentions the ancient farmers doing something of the same kind, after the ingathering of their fruits.* On which Abulensis thus remarks: "The Gentiles, that they might propitiate *Silvanus* (whom they had set over the woods and fields) in order to obtain an abundant crop, offered milk to him, as they did a hog to *Ceres*. But whether a kid or a lamb was boiled in that milk which was offered to *Silvanus* does not appear from the poetical writings, although it is very probable."† Ovid‡ has much the same thing to *Pales*. And we know that several others of the rural deities were worshipped in this way. Thus *Faunus* had a kid. Milk made a part of the sacrifices to *Pan*; and in the *ambarvalia* of *Ceres*, milk and a kid are found in the sacrifices to *Bacchus*.

* *Agricolæ prisci, fortes, parvique beati*
Condita post frumenta, levantes tempore festo,
Corpus et ipsum animum spe finis dura ferentem,
Cum sociis operum pueris, et conjuge fida
Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant.

Epist. Lib. ii. Epist. i.

† "Gentiles ut *Silvanum* (quem silvis et campis præponebant) placatum haberent, ad habendum frugem multitudinem, ei lac, prout et porcum *Cereri* offerebant. Utrum autem, in illo lacte quod *Silvano* offerebatur, hædus aut agnus coquebatur, non constat ex libris poeticis, sed satis est verisimile." In *Exod. xxiii. Quæst. 37.*

‡ *Fast. Lib. iv. versæ 742.*

All these, therefore, seem only to be the remains of that magical rite which Cudworth speaks of, and which is also noticed by Rabbi Menachim, as quoted by Spencer.^a "I have heard," says he, "that it was a custom among the heathen to boil flesh with milk, especially the flesh of kids and lambs; and when they planted trees, to make a fumigation with the smoke of the seed of the tree, and to pour out milk, to make them more fruitful, and sooner ripe." It appears, then, that this rite was performed first at the planting of fruit trees, to consecrate them to the deities who were thought to preside over that part of nature, and then annually, as a token of gratitude for the past, and a mean of procuring future fertility. As an additional proof that the above is the true explanation of the Mosaic precept, it may be noticed, that in the two first places where it is found, it is joined to the command of bringing the first fruits, and in the last to the payment of tithes; evidently making it synchronize with the heathen rite. I might add, that when God appointed the three great annual feasts of the Jews, he appointed three things to be observed; viz. that they should not offer the blood of the sacrifice of the passover with leavened bread, or allow the fat of it to remain till the morrow: that the first fruits should be brought to the house of the Lord only; and that they should not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.^b Spencer has shown,^c that the first applied to the passover, the second to the feast of pentecost, and the third to the feast of tabernacles or of ingathering; and that as the rest had a reference to heathen rites, which he mentions, so had this.

It is probable that Isaiah refers to this heathen practice, when he says, ch. lxxv. 4, that "broth of abominable

^a Lib. ii. cap. 9.

^b Exod. xxi. 17—19, xxxiv. 23—26.

^c Lib. ii. cap. 9.

things was in their vessels;" and in ch. lxvi. 17, that they "purify themselves in the gardens behind one tree (or the image of their god Ahad,) in the midst, eating swine's flesh, the abomination, or abominable broth, and the mouse." As for the injunction in Levit. xix. 27, that they "should not round the corners of their heads, nor mar the corners of their beards," it was evidently against some idolatrous customs. For, in the first place, when the heathens stood by the pile, or sepulchre of departed friends, they tore or cut their hair, and laid it on the body or tomb, to appease the dii inferi; and afterwards wore their hair cut round, and the corners of their beards marred, as a token of mourning;^a and, in the second place, even where there was no grief, they often made a vow of their hair to the Sun, Saturn, or some other deity, in token of gratitude for some signal benefit or deliverance. The LXX. render it, "Thou shalt not make a sisoe, or (σισοε) of the hair of thy head," which sisoe, or צִיצִית *Tsitsith*, was a lock of hair left on the hinder part of the head, the rest being cut round in the form of a ring,^b as the Turks, Chinese, and Hindoos do at this day. The Thracians shaved their temples, and the fore and hinder-parts of their heads, leaving a little hair on the top, which they tied in a knot; whence they were called *ακροτομαί*. The Dacians and Phœnicians did the same. Herodotus tells us that the Maci, a people in Arabia, shaved the top of their heads, leaving a little tuft in the middle,^c which in another place he says was done after the example of Bacchus.^d In short, this rounding the corners of their heads, and marring the corners of their beards, was either a mark of idolatrous grief by those who mourned, as if they had no hope, or of idola-

^a Homer, *Iliad* xxiii. 141. *Odyss.* iv. 197. Ovid, *Epist.* xi. Statius, *Thebaid* vi. Euripid. in *Orest.* verse 94.

^b Scholia in Levit.

^c *Melpom.* cap. 175.

^d *Thalia.* cap. 8.

trous dedication to some fancied divinity, and therefore to be detested by every worshipper of the true God.—Another idolatrous rite, which they were forbidden to imitate, was that “of making cuttings in their flesh for the dead, or imprinting any marks upon their bodies.”^a which the Zabians and other heathens did. Herodotus tells us, that the ancient Seythians, “when their king died, cut off their ear, cut their hair round about, cut their arms, wounded their forehead and nose, and pierced their left hand with arrows;”^b and Ovid,^c Tibulus,^d and Virgil,^e tell us, that the Romans were guilty of the same. Indeed one of the laws of the twelve tables was forbidding women to disfigure their faces;^f and the same violent expressions of grief were common among most heathen nations, as respectful to the dead, and pleasing to the *dii manes*.^g It appears that the Jews, in the later periods of their history, forgot the divine injunction, and were guilty of cutting their flesh for the dead, for it is spoken of by two of their prophets.^h As to the marks which they were forbidden to imprint on their bodies, there were various kinds of them in use. Thus some were accounted marks of nobility: accordingly Mercerusⁱ says, that it was honourable among the Babylonians to have some mark impressed on their bodies. Herodotus,^k when speaking of the Thracians, says, “they judged it noble to have the forehead punctured with marks, and ignoble to want them.” Claudian says the same of the Geloni;^l and the ancient Britons painted themselves, of whom Tertullian says, that “their ensigns of dignity

^a Lev. xix. 28. ^b Lib. iv. cap. 71. ^c Trist. Lib. iii. Eleg. 3. ^d Lib. i. Eleg. i.

^e Æn. xii. 605. ^f “Mulieres genas ne radunto.”—Cicero Tuscul. Lib. iii.

^g Virgil, Æneid. iii. 65. iv. 673. vi. 212, &c. ix. 485—489. xii. 870.

^h Is. xv. 2. and Jer. xvi. 6. xli. 5. xlvii. 5. xlviii. 37.

ⁱ Thesaur. ling. sacr. voce *yp*.

^k Lib. v. cap. 6.

^l *Membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxiase Gelonus.*

Lib. i. in Rufin. v. 315.

were marks imprinted on the body, like the feathers of the Garamantes, the croblyi or Barbarians, and the grasshoppers of the Athenians."^a But if these were honourable, there were others which were the reverse; for slaves had the names of their masters imprinted on their hand or forehead, and malefactors a mark denoting their crime. Soldiers also had marks to show to what general they belonged, and to detect them if they deserted.^b And idolaters imprinted on themselves marks to show their devotedness to their favourite divinity. Thus a thunderbolt was their mark for Jupiter; a helmet or spear for Mars; a caducæus for Mercury; a trident for Neptune; a sprig of ivy for Bacchus, &c. It was this last kind of mark which God had in view when he forbade the Israelites to make marks on their bodies; for it was an evidence of apostacy, and prevented return. Accordingly it was fixed upon by those who endeavoured the apostacy of the Jews, as the most effectual means to prevent them from returning to the Jewish worship. Thus Prideaux^c tells us, that Ptolomy Philopater, to degrade the Jews of Alexandria, ordered that "all of them that should come to be enrolled, in the third rank among the common people of Egypt, should, at the time of their enrolment, have the mark of an ivy-leaf, the badge of his god Bacchus, by a hot iron impressed on them: and that all those who should refuse to be thus enrolled, and stigmatised with the said mark, should be made slaves; and that if any of them should stand out against this decree, he should be put to death." Antiochus Epiphanes too, that cruel persecutor of the Jews, among other hardships, imposed, that "when the feast of Bacchus was kept, they were not,

^a "Insignia eorum fuisse stigmata, ut pennas Garamantum, croblyos Barbarorum, cicadas Atheniensium."—De Veland. Virgin. cap. 10.

^b Vegetius, de Re Milit. Lib. ii. cap. 2. ^c Coen. vol. ii. book 2, A.A.C. 216.

indeed, to be marked with a hot iron, but they were compelled to go in procession to Bacchus, carrying ivy."^a But, besides burning, the manner of making of these marks was by sharp points filled up with ink or blacking, as Theodoritus says^b the Greeks did, who pricked some parts of their bodies with needles, and filled them with ink, in honour of dæmons. I need scarcely add, that this practice is several times alluded to in Scripture. Thus the worshippers of the beast had either the mark or the name of the beast, or the number of his name, in their right hand or foreheads;^c the worshippers of the Lamb had his father's name in their foreheads.^d The Jews in Isaiah's days marked themselves with the name of God, to show their antipathy to idolatry;^e and Christians, in the first ages of christianity, had the name of Christ, or the sign of the cross. Hence the words of Tertullian, when he inculcates consistency,^f "The mark of Christ and the mark of the devil do not agree;" and of Augustin, when he is describing apostacy,^g "He hath lost the mark of Christ, and received the mark of the devil."—Another idolatrous rite from which they were to abstain was the confounding the peculiar dresses of the sexes, in their sacred rites; for the injunction in Deut. xxii. 5, was something more than a regulation concerning decency, or an exchange of dresses in the times of war.^h Maimonides tells us, that "the Scriptures say, that a woman shall not receive the arms of a man, nor a man put on the garment of a woman; for you will find it commanded in the book entitled *טומטום* *Tumtum*, or the Art of Magic, that a man shall clothe himself with a painted woman's garment when he stands before the

^a 2 Maccab. vi. 7. ^b Quæst. 28. in Levit. ^c Rev. xiii. 17. ^d Rev. xiv. 1.

^e Is. xlv. 5.

^f "Non convenit signo Christi, et signo diaboli."

^g "Perdidit signum Christi, accipit signum diaboli." ^h Joseph. Antiq. iv. 8.

star of Venus ; and a woman must put on a coat of mail, and warlike arms, when she stands before the star of Mars." This interpretation of Maimonides places the injunction in a new light, and is confirmed, in the first place, from an examination of *כְּלֵי צֶלִי* *Celi*, which signifies both clothes and armour.* 2dly, It is not said that the woman shall take the clothes of a man (*כְּלֵי אִישׁ* *Celi aish*;) but the armour of the warrior (*כְּלֵי גִבּוֹר* *Celi geber*;) and, 3dly, we have abundant evidence from history of an exchange of dresses by the heathens in their worship. Thus Servius^b says, that "there is in Cyprus an image with the body and dress of a woman, but with the sceptre and features of a man, whom they call Aphroditè, to whom the men sacrifice in a woman's dress, and the women in a man's dress." Julius Firmicus,^c when speaking of the Assyrians, says, that "the chorus of their priests cannot serve at the rites of Venus, unless they effeminate their countenances, polish their skin, and disgrace the male sex by a female dress." Philochorus^d affirms, that "Venus is the moon, and that the men did sacrifice to her in women's clothes, and the women in men's;" and both Julius Firmicus and Philostratus do not hesitate to affirm, that this adoption of the dresses of the opposite sex paved the way to the grossest obscenities. It was no wonder, then, that a holy God positively forbade it, as contrary to decency, and a shameful appendage to heathen idolatry.^e The prohibition against sowing their fields^f or vineyards, as they are defined in Deut. xxii. 9, with divers seeds, was evidently intended against an heathen custom, and not to prevent the crop from being spoiled, or to show God's sove-

* Gen. xxvii. 3. Judg. ix. 54.

^b Æneid, Lib. ii. 632.

^c De Error. profan. relig. p. 6.

^d Apud Macrob. Saturnal. lib. i. cap. 8.

^e See also Parkhurst, Heb. Lex. verb. גִּבּוֹר.

^f Levit. xix. 19.

reignty, as some have supposed; for it was a custom among the heathen, to sow a mixture of wheat and barley among their vines, to ensure the protection of Bacchus and Ceres. Thus Maimonides, cites a passage from one of the Zabian books, where "they were wont to sow barley and bruised grapes among their vines, thinking that they would not be fruitful without it," and gives a saying of Rabbi Judah, that "they mixed wheat, barley, and bruised grapes, and sowed them together for the above purpose." Thus, do we see, then, what the sowing of their fields or vineyards with divers seeds probably meant: it was a magical or idolatrous rite to ensure the protection of their heathen divinities; and it is not improbable, that while they sowed these seeds, they used a certain invocation to the deities they wished to render propitious; for we find Varro, when he is discoursing on the best way of cultivating fields, recommending that they should invoke no fewer than twelve of the gods, six males and six females, viz. Jupiter and Terra, Sol and Luna, Bacchus and Ceres, Robigus and Flora, Bonuseventus and Lympha, Minerva and Venus. —The law that forbade the Jews to plough with an ox and an ass together, was also pointed against idolatry.* For the ancient idolaters, when ploughing the ground, yoked these together, that by this unequal conjunction, as by a certain sign and sacrament, they might profess that they implored the influence of the divinity on their weak exertions. Indeed, an ox and an ass are so dissimilar in strength and natural habits, that although Niebuhr, p. 137, saw two ploughs of that kind near Bagdad, few would have yoked them but from superstitious motives; and accordingly such a conjunction, unless with that view, became a proverb among them for

* Deut. xxii. 10.

the height of absurdity.^a Some, indeed, say, that it was to prevent inhumanity, by yoking animals of different strength; or unnatural connexions; or in mystical language, to say like the apostle, that we should not be unequally yoked with unbelievers; but the other seems to be the juster reason of the law. To the same origin of an antidote to idolatry may we refer the law in Levit. xix. 19, which prohibits them from allowing cattle, of divers kinds, to gender with each other. For it is joined among laws confessedly Zabian,^b and was perfectly congenial to that superstition which confounded all natural distinction, and delighted in the indulgence of fleshly lusts, even the most unnatural. Spencer tells us that they considered such connexions, during the ploughing season, as the means of making their labours more successful.^c Along with the former antidotes to idolatry, is joined the prohibition of garments of linen and woollen woven together,^d because, as Spencer informs us,^e the Zabians used them in a superstitious way, in their nocturnal ceremonies, ascribing great virtue to them in procuring from the host of heaven, whom they worshipped, a plentiful crop of wool and flax. Maimonides, in speaking of the same thing, says, that, "they added plants, (meaning lint) and animals, (meaning wool) in one garment, and were wont to wear a ring of some metal upon their fingers." Herodotus,^f speaking of the Babylonians, who were Zabians, or worshippers of the host of heaven, says, that they use a similar clothing, only the linen and woollen are kept distinct, for at their ceremonies "they are clothed in two coats, one of lint, flowing down to the feet, over which is another of wool; and after that they throw a white thick coat around them."

^a Plaut. in *Aulular.* act. 2, scen. 2. Paulin. ad Auson. p. 472.

^b Levit. xix. 19. Deut. xxii. 10.

^c De Leg. Heb. Rit. lib. ii. cap. 32.

^d Deut. xxii. 11.

^e Lib. ii. cap. 33.

^f Lib. i. cap. 105.

The Egyptians, who were also Zabians, used these garments to imitate the conjunction of the stars. And Jamblichus, in his life of Pythagoras,^a says of the scholars of that philosopher, that "they used garments white and clean, but composed of a cloth of wool and lint." There is only one place in Scripture where these garments are spoken of, viz. in Zeph. i. 8, where it is said that God would "punish those who were clothed with strange apparel." We find no prohibition of the Jews wearing a linen robe, or a woollen one, or the one of these above the other: for flax and wool were both used as articles of dress.^b Neither were they prevented from sewing woollen cloth to linen, for the *תַּיִטֶּת*, *Taitseth*, or phylacteries, were of this kind. But the essence of the crime seems to have been in the woollen and linen when woven together, as resembling the dress of the Zabians in their idolatrous rites, and as tending to lead the Jews into idolatry. It is natural to suppose, that along with these laws to the people in general, as preventives against idolatry, particular attention would be paid to the purity of the priesthood, lest they should adopt the practices of the heathen priests. The law concerning eunuchism in Levit. xxi. 20, and Deut. xxiii. 1. is especially considered by Spencer in this point of view;^c and their exclusion from the congregation of the Lord, he explains as relating to their exclusion from officiating in the tabernacle and temple. This is indeed evident from the words of Moses, who says, that such persons should not approach to offer the bread of his God;^d and seems to have been the general opinion even of the modest part of the heathens.^e Yet there were some deities to whom these kinds of priests

^a Cap. xxi. ^b Hosea ii. 9. ^c Lib. ii. cap. 34. ^d Levit. xxi. 17. 21.

^e "Hi nullas meriti vittas, semperque profani." Claudian.

were considered as more acceptable. Seneca, as quoted by Augustin,^a says so of a heathen priest.^b Lucian^c mentions some ministers of religion called Galli, who were wont to emasculate themselves in honor of Rhea. Strabo^d tells us that the priests who ministered to Diana at Ephesus did the same, to take charge of the sacred virgins. The Egyptian priests at Heliopolis were eunuchs.^e And Hieronymus^f says that the Hierophants of the Athenians, even in his day, were emasculated by a draught of poison (*sorbitione cicutæ*) to qualify them for the pontificate. It is evident then that the law in question had two objects in view. 1. To preserve a respect for the priesthood among the Jews, since eunuchs are generally despised, and it would have been wrong for those to officiate who, by cutting off the virile part, which was one species of eunuchism, were thereby deprived of the sign of that covenant which distinguished their countrymen. And 2. To distinguish them from the priests of the heathen temples, where both the kinds of eunuchism mentioned in Deut. xxiii. 1, were but too frequently to be found.—Every one in the least acquainted with the history of heathen worship, knows that their temples were the very centre of iniquity, by having females and even males attached to them. It is therefore not without probability that Spencer^g explains the law in Deut. xxiii. 17, which forbade a whore of the daughters of Israel, or a sodomite of the sons of Israel, as referring to this; and he and Parkhurst^h have given sufficient testimonies of the heathen practice. I shall only add one law more, which is connected with, and explained by the fore-mentioned practices. It is

^a De Civit. Dei, Lib. vi. cap. 10.

^b "Ille viriles sibi partes amputat, ille lacertos secat."

^c De Dea Syr.

^d Geog. Lib. xiv.

^e Herodot. Lib. i.

^f Advers. Jovian. Lib. i.

^g Lib. ii. cap. 35.

^h Heb. Lex. 877.

mentioned in Deut. xxiii. 18, immediately after that we have been considering, and forbids them "to bring the hire of a whore, or the price of a dog, into the house of the Lord their God for any vow." Evidently alluding to, and intended to counteract that abominable practice among the heathens of consecrating the money they got for their violated chastity to their gods, and for sacred purposes, such as repairing the temple, supporting the priesthood, and purchasing victims. Micah i. 7, mentions these hires as common in Samaria. And in the apocryphal Book of Baruch, vi. 43, we have the manner in which the women sat at these heathen temples. "The women also with cords about them, says he, sitting in the ways, or avenues to them, burn bran for perfume : but if any of them, drawn aside by some that passeth by, lieth with him, she reproacheth her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor had her cord broken." The best paraphrase on which words will be found in Herodotus,* of which a translation is given in Part VIII. Sect. 2; when describing the manner in which they worshipped Succoth-benoth. The law then, forbidding the hire of a whore to be brought into the house of the Lord for any vow, evidently referred to these violations of chastity by persons otherwise chaste, who considered their appearance at a heathen temple once in their lives as a religious duty.

As for the price of a dog, which was also forbidden to be brought, it hath been explained variously. Some taking it to mean a sacred sodomite, and others a favourite dog, which, being the first born, they were anxious to redeem. But the words allude to Egyptian idolatry; and as they worshipped a dog, so a dog and its gifts were abhorred by Jehovah. Diodorus Siculus^b

* Lib. i. cap. 199.

^b Biblioth. Hist. Lib. i. p. 74.

says that "the Egyptians above measure venerate not only some living animals, but also some dead ones, as cats, ichneumons, rats, and dogs." Plutarch^a says that "anciently the dog was chiefly honoured in Egypt." Juvenal^b asserts that every city worshipped a dog, but none Diana.^c Herodotus^d says that "in whatever temple the cat dies, the inhabitants of it shave their eyebrows only; but in that where the dog dies, they shave their whole body and head." In their religious festivals, dogs consecrated to their idols, in great pomp, headed the procession. And two reasons are assigned for this honour: 1. That as the Nile rises at the time the Dog-star rises, so they worship a dog, as its symbol, because the Nile is the fertilizer of their country.^e 2. That this honour was paid to the dog as a lively emblem of Anubis or Mercury. For Diodorus Siculus^f tells us that "the Egyptians were wont to worship Anubis under an image with a dog's head." Lucian^g calls Anubis or Mercury the dog-faced Mercury: *κυνοπροσωπος Ερμης*. Athanasius and others call him "the dog-headed Anubis:" *κυνοκεφαλος Ανυβις*. And Virgil^h says the same thing.ⁱ It was no wonder then that God forbade the price of a dog to be received among the gifts of animals that were redeemable. It was to inspire them with hatred against the Egyptian idols, and their impure worship. They might redeem a horse, ass, camel, or ape, but were on no account to redeem a dog. God would not allow it to enter his treasury.—Should it be asked what connexion there was between the price of whoredom and the price of a dog, I answer that at the temple of Isis or Venus

^a In Isid. p. 368.

^b Sat. xv. 7, 8.

^c "Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam."

^d Euterpe, cap. 66.

^e Elian de Animal. Lib. x. cap. 45.

^f Lib. i. p. 77.

^g Lib. de Sacr. vii. p. 186.

^h Æniad viii. 689.

ⁱ Omnigenumque Deum monstra, et latratōr Anubis.

the women sat as described formerly; and at the temple of Anubis or Mercury, that dog-headed deity, there was probably a similar practice. They were connected together as Egyptian deities, and the prohibition was also connected, to prevent the Israelites from worshipping them. Spencer mentions an Egyptian column dedicated to Isis, which shows their connexion: "I am Isis, the queen of this country, educated by Mercury; I am she who arises in the Dog-star, &c."^a

We have been thus particular concerning the laws in the Mosaic ritual which were intended to be a defence against idolatry, both because of their singularity and importance. Against them have the shafts of ridicule been chiefly directed, and it became us to show their reasonableness and utility. Living as the Jews did in the midst of idolaters, it was necessary to defend them against its influence, and to secure their allegiance to the true God. The words therefore of Tacitus are strictly true, if instead of Moses we substitute God. "Moses, that he might attach the nation of the Jews for ever to himself, instituted new rites, and contrary to the rest of men. For all things are profane to them, which are accounted sacred by us: and all things are permitted to them, which are prohibited to us."^b

Hitherto we have been considering the first two ends of the ceremonial law: viz. that it was intended to teach the Jews the leading doctrines of religion in a sensible and impressive manner; and to be a defence against idolatry: let us now attend to the *third* end for which it was given, viz. *to prepare their minds for a brighter dispensation*. St. Paul, in his epistle to the Hebrews,

^a Lib. ii. cap. 36.

^b "Moses, ut sibi in posterum Judæorum gentem firmaret, novos ritus, contrariosque cæteris mortalibus indidit. Profana illis omnia, quæ apud nos sacra. Eursum concessa apud illos, quæ nobis incesta." (Hist. Lib. v. sub init.)

calls the Jewish ritual the shadow of good things to come,^a figures or antitypes of the true,^b an example and shadow of heavenly things,^c a parable of the time to come;^d the whole law a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ;^e and its institutes the elements of the world,^f or rudiments to teach the world the first principles of piety, and of the gospel, in a manner adapted to the childhood of the world. Nor are there wanting sufficient reasons why God delivered gospel truths in this mysterious manner. It suited the state of the Jews, to whom, as to an early and rude people, types, symbols, fables, and parables, were the common mode of instruction. It was consonant with the education of Moses, who was taught in all the hieroglyphics of Egypt. It was fitted to the intermediate nature of the Jewish dispensation; giving it more light than the patriarchal, but less than the christian. It was placing the old covenant and its mediator below the new covenant and its mediator. And as the Jewish law was given to the whole Jewish nation, learned and unlearned, it was proper that there should be *τα κοινὰ* for the common people, and *τα νοηὰ* for the wise; doctrines exoteric and esoteric;^g truths for the carnal, and truths for the spiritual-minded Jews. Hence hath the ceremonial law been often termed the Jewish gospel; because it exhibited to those who were exercised to godliness the leading doctrines of the covenant of grace; faith in the Lamb of God who took away the sin of the world; acceptance with God through the blood of atonement; holiness of heart and holiness of life through the gracious aids of the Holy Spirit; and a future state of rewards and punishments. On all these points the Epistle to

^a Heb. x. 1.^b Heb. ix. 24.^c Heb. viii. 5.^d Heb. ix. 9.^e Gal. iii. 24.^f Gal. iv. 3.^g 2 Esdras xiv. 26. 44—48.

the Hebrews forms a beautiful commentary. A religion then, that had such advantages as these to boast of, ought not to be too hastily decried. It was perfect, in that it was suited to the situation and circumstances of the people to whom it was given; it was only imperfect when compared with the more complete œconomy of the gospel.

One cannot contemplate the ceremonial law without also reflecting on its gradual abolition. For it was positively binding on every Jew till the death of Christ, in whom its spiritual meaning was fulfilled. Its observance became a matter of indifference between the death of Christ and the destruction of Jerusalem, and hence those prudential maxims and regulations which are to be found in the Acts of the Apostles, and the several Epistles, with respect to those converts from Judaism to Christianity who had still an attachment to it. But it became criminal after the destruction of Jerusalem, because then it could not be legally observed, since the temple and altar were then destroyed.

SECT. III.

The Judicial Law.

The forms of government in the different periods of the Jewish history; patriarchal, the theocracy, an elective monarchy, a hereditary monarchy till the captivity: governors after it; the Asmonæan family; Herod; the Romans. The revenue of the Jewish kings.

THE judicial law comprehends two distinct branches. 1st, The form of government in the different periods of the Jewish history; and 2dly, The civil and criminal laws by which justice was administered.

The first form of government among the Jews was the patriarchal, when the father of the family exercised that power which God and his superior age and experience

had given him. This was the sway that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob had over their respective families. And when their posterity became more numerous after their death, the heads of the tribes supplied their places; were their counsellors in peace, and their leaders in war. We find traces of this kind of government as far as circumstances permitted, at the time when Moses was commissioned to free them from the bondage of Egypt. But on the resolution of God to effect this deliverance, their government assumed a new character; the patriarchal form was exchanged for a theocracy. The Ruler of the universe became the king of Israel. He assumed a visible relation to, and took a particular interest in his chosen race. He became their king, their lawgiver, and their judge; and never dealt so with any other people.^a It was in this character of king that he gave them his law from Mount Sinai; supplied its defects in cases unprovided for;^b went before them by a pillar of cloud and of fire;^c fought their battles;^d appointed viceroys, dictators, or judges; sanctioned treaties; and received the half shekel as a tribute or revenue. In this point of view also, the splendid tabernacle and temple were his palace; the priests and Levites were his attendants; the shew bread, the sacrifices, and the libations of wine, were the daily allowance of food for himself, and his servants; the mercy-seat was his royal throne; and the incense that was daily burnt in the holy place on the altar of incense was in conformity with the usage of eastern princes, who delight in perfumes. It is true that he was their king both in a temporal and spiritual sense; for he was worshipped as well as obeyed; but the one tended to strengthen the other, and appears to have been necessary to suit the

^a Judg. viii. 22, 23. 1 Sam. viii. 7.

^b Exod. xviii. 19. Numb. vii. 89. xv. 34. xxvii. 5.

^c Numb. xiv. 14.

^d Josh. xxiii. 3, 10.

character of the times. For it prevented all competition for power, and, unlike the despotic government of the neighbouring nations, this singular theocracy was distinguished for mildness, security, and despatch. This order of things continued till the latter end of Samuel's life, when they foolishly asked for a king, that they might resemble the other nations :^a and when God in compliance with their wishes put an end to the theocracy, and gave them first an elective and then a hereditary monarchy. But this was attended with various evils. For they were oppressed by their kings as God had foretold.^b In place of checking idolatry, these kings set the example. And the nation, in place of remaining united, vigorous, and happy, became divided into two parts that wore out each other by continual wars, till both were carried into captivity, the one for seventy years, and the other till the present time. During the seventy years captivity, the ancients of the people were their judges.^c After the seventy years captivity, the tribes of Judah and Benjamin returned to their own land, and were ruled 128 years by Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, or from the year before Christ 536 till 408. For 242 years after that, or from the year before Christ 408 till 166, their high priests were their governors, and the nation was successively tributary to the Persians, Greeks, Egyptians, and Syrians. For 129 years, or from the year before Christ 166 till 37, they were under the Asmonæan family, either as princes, kings, or priests. From the year before Christ 37 till the year of our Lord 12, they were under the Romans partially, because ruled by Herod and the governors of Judea by their own laws. But from thence, till the destruction of Jerusalem, they

^a 1 Sam. viii. 5. 19. 20.

^b 1 Sam. viii. 11—18.

^c Hist. of Susanns, verses 5—7.

were publicly reduced to a Roman province. Such is a summary of the forms of government under which the Jews were placed between their deliverance from Egypt, and the complete destruction of their city and temple.

We know very little however of the funds which the Jewish kings had to support the expenses of government. The following short notices are all that I have met with.—In the reign of Solomon, he got from Ophir 420 talents of gold once in three years, which at 125 lbs. Troy, or 1500 ounces to the talent, and 4*l.* to the ounce, made 2,604,000*l.* or 868,000*l.* yearly. The queen of Sheba presented him with 120 talents of gold, or 720,000*l.* And the whole weight of gold that came to him in one year is stated to have been 666 talents, equal to 3,996,000*l.* : but this was far from being the full amount of his revenue, for it is added, that he had these, “besides that he had of the merchantmen, and of the traffic, and of the spice merchants, and of all the kings of Arabia, and of the governors of the country :” independent of the revenue which he drew from his subjects in Judea, which must have been very considerable, since, after his death, we hear them requesting of his son to alleviate their burdens.^b And if he exacted money of them in a rigorous and frequent manner, as Menahem king of Israel afterwards did, there was reason for the complaint. For Menahem, to pacify the wrath and purchase the friendship of Pul king of Assyria, gave him a thousand talents of silver, which he raised by a contribution on the monied men of fifty shekels apiece.^c And perhaps Solomon did something of the same kind, to complete his buildings, and defray the expenses of government. We hear nothing more of the revenue of the Jewish kings till the reign of Archelaus,

^a 1 Kings ix. 28, x. 10, 14, 15.

^b 1 Kings xii. 4.

^c 2 Kings xv. 20.

the son of Herod the Great, who obtained the half of his father's kingdom, as a grant from Cæsar; and whose revenues stood thus. Perea and Galilee paid annually 200 talents of silver: Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and a certain part called the House of Zenadorus, paid 100 talents; and the rest paid 300 talents; making in all 600 talents of silver annually; which at 1500 ounces to the talent, and 5 shillings to the ounce, made 225,000*l*. But, if this was the revenue of Archelaus, it will enable us to ascertain the revenue of his father Herod the Great; who, having had double the possessions of his son, may be supposed to have had double his income, or 1200 talents, besides having the fourth part which had been abated by Archelaus when he came to the kingdom, and was equal to 400 talents. So that the whole revenue of Herod the Great might have been 1600 talents of silver, or 600,000*l*.^a a sum scarcely adequate, one would think, to bribe Pompey, Cæsar, and their minions, and to build the cities and edifices which distinguished his reign. The only other notice I have met with is in the days of Herod Agrippa, who killed James with the sword.^b His revenues are said to have been 12 millions of drachmæ, equal to three millions of shekels, which at half an ounce each, and 5 shillings to the ounce, came to 375,000*l*.^c Thus have we seen a gradual decrease. The Jewish glory, as a kingdom was at its height in the days of Solomon. It sank very low during the 70 years captivity. It rose on its return like a phœnix from its ashes. It was again at its height in the days of Herod the Great: but after his death it gradually declined, till it ceased to be reckoned in the list of nations.

With respect to their civil and criminal laws we need

^a Joseph. Antiq. xvii. 11.

^b Acts xii. 2.

^c Joseph. Antiq. xix. 8.

not be long : for, having formerly, when describing the chamber Gezith, in the south-east corner of the court of Israel, mentioned the Council of Three, which held its sittings in an apartment adjoining to every synagogue, every lawful day, between the end of the morning prayers and the sixth hour ; the Council of Seven, according to Josephus,* or the Council of Twenty-three, according to the Talmud, which sat for the same length of time as the former court, in the gate of those cities which could boast of an hundred and twenty families at the least, and decided in causes of greater moment ; and the Council of the Sanhedrin, which sat every lawful day, between the end of the morning and beginning of the evening sacrifice, and was the Supreme Court of the Jewish nation, it is needless to enter upon them again in this place. It will be sufficient, therefore, now to refer to the pentateuch, as the code of laws by which they were guided in their decisions ; and to describe the sanctions, civil and ecclesiastical, by which they were enforced.

SECT. IV.

Civil Punishments among the Jews.

1st. Inferior—as restitution, depriving them of their beards, destroying their houses, imprisonment with various aggravations, confinement in the cities of refuge, whipping, cutting off the hands and feet, putting out the eyes, fighting with wild beasts, slavery, selling children for their parent's debt, like for like. 2d. Capital—strangling, hanging, stoning, burning, beheading, crucifixion, dashing to pieces, drowning, tearing to pieces, trampling to death, sawing asunder, murdering in the dungeon.—An account of eastern prisons—the executioners of the law—and the ceremonies used before execution.

THE civil punishments among the Jews were either inferior or capital.

The inferior were, 1. Restitution for theft, in certain

* Antiq. Lib. iv. cap. 8.

proportions.^a 2. Depriving them of their beards.^b 3. Destroying their houses.^c 4. Imprisonment simply;^d or aggravated by the dungeon;^e by fetters;^f by a wooden yoke round the neck;^g by the stocks;^h by hard labour;ⁱ and by the bread of affliction, and water of affliction.^k 5. Confinement in the cities of refuge for man-slaughter, till the death of the high-priest.^l 6. Whipping with a scourge of three cords, and thirteen strokes for one offence, so as to give the culprit forty save one:^m as it is particularly described in Part II. Sect. 13, near the end. 7. Cutting off the hands and feet.ⁿ 8. Putting out the eyes:^o a custom very frequent still in the East. In Persia particularly, as I am informed by one who was an eye-witness, it is no unusual practice for the king to punish a rebellious city or province by exacting so many pounds of eyes, and his executioners accordingly go and scoop out from every one they meet till they have the weight required. This is abundantly confirmed in many parts of Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia, and especially in vol. ii. ch. 19. p. 198, note. 9. Fighting with wild beasts, which was sometimes not mortal, as in the case of Paul;^p but oftener mortal. 10. Slavery till the sabbatical year, or till compensation was made for theft.^q 11. Selling children for their fathers' debts.^r 12. Tallio, or like for like, either literally,^s or by compensation with money. In cases of bodily pains, therefore, the Hebrew doctors taught that the party offending was bound to a five-fold satisfaction. 1. The hurt in the loss of the

^a Exod. xxii. 1—4.^b 2 Sam. x. 4.^c Ezra vi. 11. Dan. ii. 5. iii. 29.^d Gen xlii. 19.^e Jer. xxxviii. 6. ^f Gen. xxxix. 20. Judg. xvi. 21.^g Jer. xxvii. 2. xxviii. 13.^h Job xiii. 27. Prov. vii. 22. Jer. xx. 2.ⁱ Judg. xvi. 21.^j 1 Kings xxii. 27.^k Numb. xxxv. 25—28.^m 2 Cor. xi. 24, 25.ⁿ Judg. i. 6, 7. 2 Sam. iv. 12. 2 Macc. vii. 4.^o Judg. xvi. 21. 1 Sam. xi. 2. 2 Kings xxv. 7. Is. xlii. 7. Jer. xxxix. 7.^p 1 Cor. xv. 32.^q Exod. xxi. 2.^r 2 Kings iv. 1. Matt. xviii. 25.^s Exod. xxi. 23—25.

member. 2. The damage for the loss of labour. 3. The damage for the pain or grief occasioned by the wound. 4. The damage for the charge of curing it. And 5. For the blemish or deformity it occasioned. Hence Munster, on Exod. xxi., has rendered these five by the following words: *Damnum, læsio, dolor, medicina, confusio*. Such were the inferior civil punishments among the Jews.

The capital civil punishments were the following: 1. Strangling by two persons with a handkerchief: for the six following offences: adultery, striking of parents, man-stealing, old men who were notoriously rebellious against the law, false prophets, and those who prognosticated future events by using the names of idols. 2. Hanging till the person was dead;^a or exposing the body after death on a gibbet, either till the evening,^b or till devoured by fowls and other ravenous beasts.^c We find a punishment of this kind inflicted on the heads of the people who had gone over to Baal-peor, in Num. xxv. 4; and on seven of Saul's sons for his having slain the Gibeonites.^d But these appear to have been as a national expiation, and were called "hanging them before the Lord." 3. Stoning,^e which was always without the city, in the manner following: When they came to within ten cubits of the place where the person was to be stoned, they exhorted him to confess, and give God the glory, that although he died by the hand of the law, his soul might be saved in the day of the Lord. When they came within four cubits of the place, they stripped him naked (but if a woman she retained her clothes,) and the witnesses who condemned him also stripped themselves of their upper garments. The place of exe-

^a Josh. viii. 29. Esther vii. 9, 10.

^b Josh. x. 26. Josephus, War, iv. 5.

^c Gen. xl. 19.

^d 2 Sam. xxi. 9.

^e Acts vii. 59.

cution was an eminence twice the height of a man, from whence he was thrown down by the first witness. If not dead, the other witness threw a large stone upon his breast: and after that the rest of the people stoned him till he died. Those who were stoned were also hanged for some time on a tree, but generally taken down in the evening, and buried in the burying ground that was allotted by the magistrate for that purpose. For there were two burying places for common malefactors; the one for those who were slain by the sword, and strangled, and the other for those who were stoned and hanged.^a But it was not unusual for the relations, after some days, to carry them thence to the family sepulchre. The following nineteen offences subjected to stoning. Incest with a mother, or mother-in-law, or daughter-in-law; adultery with a betrothed virgin; sodomy, bestiality, blasphemy, idolatry, offering to Moloch, he who had a familiar spirit, the wizard, the private enticer to idolatry, the public withdrawer to idolatry, magicians, profaners of the sabbath, cursers of father or mother, and the dissolute and stubborn son.

4. Burning—either by roasting in the fire, as Zedekiah and Ahab, by the king of Babylon,^b or in a furnace,^c or by pouring melted lead down their throats. The following ten offences subjected to it. The adultery of a priest's daughter, incest with a daughter, a son's daughter, a daughter's daughter, a wife's daughter, a wife's daughter's daughter, a wife's son's daughter, a wife's mother, the mother of her father, and the mother of her father-in-law.

5. Beheading^d—which was the punishment affixed to the two following offences, viz. the voluntary man-slayer, and the inhabitants of a city that

^a Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Acts vii. 58, and viii. 1.

^b Jer. xxix. 22.

^c Dan. iii. 23.

^d Gen. xl. 19. 2 Sam. iv. 7. 2 Kings x. 7. Matt. xiv. 8. 11.

fell into idolatry. The same person who mentioned to the author of this work the scooping out so many pounds of eyes, as a Persian punishment, in the case of rebellion, also added, that for the same offence, a pyramid of heads, of a certain number of feet diameter, is sometimes exacted (like the two heaps which Jehu made of the heads of the seventy sons of Ahab, 2 Kings x. 8.) and so indifferent are the executioners to the distresses of others, that they will select a head of peculiar appearance, and long beard, to grace the summit of the pyramid. Sir John Malcolm in his history of Persia,^a says, that "when Timour stormed Isfahan, it was impossible to count the slain, but an account was taken of seventy thousand heads, which were heaped in pyramids, as monuments of savage revenge." We are shocked at the conduct of Herod, with respect to John the Baptist, when, at the request of the daughter of Herodias, he gave the good man's head in a charger, to gratify the malice that her mother entertained against him. But we have several instances in history, that such a conduct was not unusual. Thus, in the above-mentioned History of Persia,^b "Seljook, king of Persia, in a fit of intoxication, ordered one of his slaves to strike off the head of his queen. The cruel mandate was obeyed, and the head of this beautiful but ambitious princess was presented in a golden charger, to her drunken husband, as he sat carousing with his dissolute companions." And in Rollin's Ancient History,^c we have something of the same kind mentioned of Artaxerxes Mnemon, king of Persia, who having been instigated against Tissaphernes, his viceroy in Asia Minor, by his queen Parysatis, ordered his head to be given her, "as an agreeable present to a princess, of her violent and vindictive temper." Prideaux relates the same thing

^a Vol. i. ch. 13.^b Vol. i. ch. 11.^c Book ix. ch. iii. sect. 3.

in his Connection A.A.C. 395, and produces several other instances. Thus A.A.C. 477, Hamestris the queen, on the birthday of Xerxes, asked his sister-in-law to be given to her to be tortured. Under A.A.C. 448, the mother of Artaxerxes asked Icarus and some Athenians that she might revenge on them the death of her son Achæmenides. And under A.A.C. 404, Statira prevailed on Arsaces to deliver up Udiastes to be put to death, for the part he had acted in the ruin of her family. How invaluable is that gospel, which discountenances such cruelties, and teaches persons of every rank to cultivate equity, mildness, and peace! The 6th capital punishment among the Jews was crucifixion. Persons subjected to this were first scourged; their hands and feet were then nailed to a cross: they received a grain of myrrh, or frankincense, infused in wine, to stupefy them; hence the reason why our Saviour refused it,^a and continued in that painful situation till they died: when they were either buried, or left to be the prey of birds. Hence Horace^b says of a certain person, "Non pascas in cruce corvos." We may add, that some were crucified with their heads towards the earth, as Peter is said to have requested, in token of his humility. 7th, Dashing to pieces from a rock.^c 8th, Drowning, with a weight suspended from the neck.^d 9th, Torn to pieces, either by thorns,^e or with saws and harrows of iron,^f or by wild beasts. 10th, Sawing asunder, by enclosing them in a box, and sawing them either from head to foot, or from foot to head.^g 11th, Murdering in the dungeon of the prison, and casting a stone on the dead body by way

^a Mark xv. 23. ^b Lib. i. Epist. 16. ^c 2 Chron. xxv. 12. Luke iv. 29.

^d Matt. xviii. 6. ^e Judg. viii. 16. 2 Sam. viii. 2. ^f 2 Sam. xii. 31.

^g Heb. xi. 37.—I have met with two modern instances of this punishment. The first is that of the governor of Misitra near ancient Sparta, who being bribed by Mahomet II. to surrender the citadel, no sooner put himself into the hands of the Sultan, than he ordered him to be sawn through the middle. And the

of execration.^a 12th, Hewing in pieces with the sword, as Samuel did Agag,^b of which we have two recent examples. The first in Bruce's Travels,^c where he says that "coming across the market-place, he saw Za Mariam, the Ras's door-keeper, with three men bound, one of whom he fell a hacking to pieces in his presence; and upon seeing him running across the place, and stopping his nose, he called out to him to stay till he should despatch the other two, for he wanted to speak with him, as if he had been engaged about ordinary business." The second example is in Captain Light's Travels, p. 194. His words are, "Djezzar, (the same who so successfully resisted Bonaparte at Acre in 1801) had reason to suspect fraud, in the conduct of some of the officers of his seraglio; and, as he could not discover the offenders, he had between fifty and sixty of them seized, stripped naked, and laid on the ground; and to each placed a couple of janissaries, who were ordered to hew them in pieces with their swords. This execution was seen by the relator (of the story to Captain Light,) and described with every aggravation of horror, that may be supposed attached to such an event." Lastly, casting persons into a tower full of ashes was the punishment of those who were guilty of sacrilege and rebellion. Antiochus put Menelaus to death in this way at Berea.^d Darius Ochus punished his brother Sogdianus thus. Another brother named Arsites, and Artipheus the son of Megabyzus, were also thus put to death, and a similar death was inflicted on Pisuthnes, the governor of Lydia.^e It was originally a Persian

second is that of Conrad d'Alis Barthelemy, a monk of Monte Politiano, in the province of Tuscany, who was sawed in two from the head downwards, in Grand Cairo. Chateaubriand's Travels, vol. i. Introd. p. 18. vol. ii. p. 143.

^a Lam. iii. 53. ^b 1 Sam. xv. 33. ^c Vol. iv. p. 81. ^d 2 Macc. xiii. 4. 8.

^e Pirdeaux, Connect. A.A.C. 424. 422. 414.

punishment: the first invention of which is mentioned in Valerius Maximus.^a

Such were the civil capital punishments in use among the Jews. But before leaving them, it may be proper to add somewhat concerning their prisons, the executioners of the law, and the ceremonies used in bringing offenders to punishment.

The eastern prisons were not public and separate buildings, but apartments belonging to the house of the judge; and the jailor was his most confidential servant. Hence the royal prison, or that which was within the precincts of the palace, for more honourable offenders, was in the house of Potiphar, the captain of the guard; and Jeremiah was confined first in the court of the prison that was in the king of Judah's house,^b and afterwards in the house of Jonathan the scribe.^c A discretionary power was also given to the jailor, to treat them as he pleased, provided he produced them when called for. If a bribe, therefore, was given by the prisoner, he might lodge in the jailor's house, and partake of its comforts, although he were the greatest miscreant: and if one was given by the accuser, the prisoner was treated with every inhumanity.^d It was this discretionary power that Jeremiah felt, when he was cast by the princes, his enemies, "into the dungeon of Malchiah, the son of Hammelech, that was in the court of the prison, and in which was no water, but mire, so that he sunk in the mire."^e Few situations could be more deplorable; and unless Abedmelech had pitied his case, and obtained his deliverance, he must soon have died.^f As for the executioners of the law, in the common cases of punishing offenders, they have always in the East

^a Lib. ix. cap. 2.

^b Jer. xxxii. 2.

^c Ib. xxxvii. 15.

^d Clarke's Harmer, ch. ix. Ob. 84.

^e Jer. xxxviii. 6.

^f Ib. 7.

been the guards of the king. Hence Herod the tetrarch sent one of his *συντάλαρα*, or guard, to behead John the Baptist:^a and the original words for "Potiphar and Arioch the captain of the guard," in Gen. xxxix. 1. and Dan. ii. 14, literally mean "Potiphar and Arioch the chief of the executioners." But let us next notice the ceremonies which were generally observed in carrying them into execution. In the first place the judges, used the utmost deliberation during the trial; the panel was set on some high seat in the presence of all the court;^b two witnesses at least coinciding in their evidence were necessary to convict him,^c who laid their hands on his head while deponing,^d and when sentence was pronounced, the judge laying his hands upon his head, said, "Thou art guilty; thy blood be upon thine own head." After sentence, the person was led to the place of execution, which was always without the city, accompanied by two executioners, a band of officers, properly armed, to prevent either riot or escape, and a crier, who went before them proclaiming the following words: "A. B. is going to suffer such a death, because he hath committed such a crime in such a place, at such a time, and these persons, N. and N. are witnesses. If any person knoweth any thing in his favour, (of which we have an instance in the History of Susanna, verses 45. 50.) let him come and make it known." And a person also was appointed to stand at the door of the court, with a handkerchief in his hand, to wave to another person on horseback, who was stationed at some distance to bring the condemned person back to the court, if any thing favourable had occurred. Nay, the criminal himself had the privilege of retiring to the court-house five times, if he had aught to plead, that was judged of

^a Mark vi. 27. ^b 1 Kings xxi. 9. ^c Deut. xix. 15. ^d Susanna, ver. 34, 40.

consequence by the two scholars of the wise men, who were sent to accompany him for that purpose. But, if he had nothing to urge, and if no exculpatory evidence appeared, he was besought to confess, that he might not die with a lie in his heart, and might have his portion in the world to come. They generally, also, gave him a grain of myrrh or frankincense mingled in the wine,^a to render him less sensible of pain; and when the law had taken its course, the tree on which he was hanged, or the stone wherewith he was stoned, or the sword with which he was beheaded, or the napkin with which he was strangled, were generally buried with him, that none might say that they had been used at his execution.^b Such were the inferior and capital civil punishments among the Jews.

SECT. V.

Ecclesiastical Punishments among the Jews.

The *Nezipè* or Admonition, its nature and duration. The *Nedui* or Separation. The *Herim* or Cutting off. The *Shemetha* or Greater Excommunication. A Copy of it.

THEIR ecclesiastical punishments admitted of various degrees, the lowest of which, viz.

1st. The *Nezipè* נְזִיפָה, or admonition, was always private, and administered by the minister, or leading men in the synagogue. Its common term of continuance was not less than seven days,^c nor more than thirty; and it differed from the next higher degree, in the following things. The person admonished remained at home, as one ashamed; yet other persons did not abstain from his company. And he needed no absolution at the

^a Mark xv. 23.

^b Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. Acts vii. 58. viii. 1.

^c Founded on Numb. xii. 14.

expiring of the term; for, when he had taken the reproof to heart, and the time had expired, he became free. In short, it was a voluntary act of the individual, arising from a conviction of his past misconduct, and the offence he had given to society and the church. It was submitting to the sentence of the synagogue as just and proper.^a

2dly, The *Nedui* נדוי, or separation, was inflicted on those who despised the admonition, or had been guilty of refusing to pay any debt which the bench of three had found him liable to, or had been guilty of any of the twenty offences which are collected by Dr. Lightfoot,^b and Dr. Owen^c out of the Talmud. It might be pronounced by any of their religious assemblies, but was commonly executed by the synagogue, or rather by the bench of three attached to the synagogue; who sent their officer to summon him to appear on a certain day. Thus, they appointed him the second day of the week, or their first court-day; the fifth day of the week, or their second court-day; and the second day of the week following, or their third court-day. And if the matter was about money that was owing to any member of the synagogue, they allowed all the three days to run, before declaring him contumacious, and thereby subjecting him to the *Nedui*; but if it was concerning any of the twenty offences formerly alluded to, they inflicted the *Nedui*, on his refusing to appear the first time; for they justly thought that he who had been guilty of such offences should make every haste to express his contrition. The time of its continuance was commonly thirty days; but if the person neglected to apply for a remission at the end of that time, he became virtually subject

^a Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. 1 Cor. v. 5.

^b Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations on 1 Cor. v. 5.

^c Exposition on the Hebrews, vol. i. Exercit. 21st.

to the next highest degree of censure, although it was not always inflicted. During the continuance of this sentence, he was not prevented from hearing the law, or even from teaching it, if a master in Israel, provided he kept four paces distant from other persons. Nay, he might even go into the temple to attend divine service, but he entered in and came out at the contrary doors from the rest of the people. And if he died while under this sentence, they threw a stone upon his bier, to signify that he deserved stoning.

3dly. The next higher punishment was the *Herem* חרם, or cutting off. It was an authoritative and public censure, inflicted by the synagogue; and was commonly inflicted on those who despised the Nedui, or were guilty of higher provocations, and lasted for thirty days. With persons in that situation it was not lawful so much as to eat.

The 4th and highest degree of ecclesiastical separation, was the *Shemetha* שמתה, from שמת *Shemeth*, to exclude, expel, or cast out: meaning that they were cast out from the covenant of promise, and the commonwealth of Israel; and that they should be accounted by the Jews as an heathen man and a publican. It was inflicted on those who despised the Herem, and by the greater part of the Jews was esteemed total and final: the person that fell under it being left to the judgment of God, without hope of reconciliation with the church. Hence it is called in the Targum,^a “the curse and execration of God:” and by the Talmudists, “the anathema of the God of Israel.”

The above is the arrangement of ecclesiastical censures among the Jews, as given by Godwin,^b and Dr.

^a Num. xxi. 25. Deut. vii. 27.

^b Moses and Aaron, Book v. ch. 2.

Owen:^a but Dr. Lightfoot^b arranges them differently. For he places the Shemetha before the Herem, making the Shemetha the same as the lesser excommunication; and the Herem as equivalent to the greater.

Dr. Owen gives from Buxtorff the form of the greater excommunication, which I shall here transcribe.

“ By the sentence of the Lord of lords, let such an one, the son of such an one, be in anathema, or accursed in each house of judgment, that above and that below (meaning by God and his church;) in the curse of the holy ones on high; in the curse of the seraphims and ophannim (meaning the wheels or cherubims in Ezekiel’s vision;) in the curse of the whole church, from the greatest to the least. Let there be upon him strokes great and abiding; diseases great and terrible; let his house be an habitation of dragons or serpents. Let his star (or planet) be dark in the clouds. Let him be exposed to indignation, anger, and wrath; and let his dead body be cast to wild beasts and serpents; let his enemies and adversaries rejoice over him; and let his silver and gold be given to others; and let his children be cast at the door of his enemies; and let posterity be astonished at his day. Let him be accursed out of the mouth of Abiriron and Athariel; from the mouth of Sandolphon and Hadraniel; from the mouth of Ansisiel and Pathiel; from the mouth of Seraphiel and Sagansael; from the mouth of Michael and Gabriel; from the mouth of Raphiel and Mesharethiel. Let him be accursed from the mouth of Zazabib, and from the mouth of Havabib, who is the great God; and from the mouth of the seventy names of the great king; and from the mouth of Tzorlak the great chancellor (names partly significant and partly

^a Exposition of the Hebrews, vol. i. Exercit. 21.

^b Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations on 1 Cor. v. 5.

insignificant, coined to strike a terror into weak and distempered minds.) Let him be swallowed up as Korah and his company, and let his soul depart with fear and terror. Let the rebuke of the Lord slay him; and let him be strangled like Achitophel. Let his leprosy be as the leprosy of Gehazi; neither let there be any restoration of his ruin. Let not his burial be in the burials of Israel; let his wife be given to strangers; and let others humble her in his death. Under this curse let such an one, the son of such an one, be, with his whole inheritance. But unto me, and all Israel, let God extend his peace and blessing. Amen."

To add to the terror of the above sentence, they usually accompanied the pronouncing of it with the sound of trumpets; as the Targum says Barak did in the cursing of Meroz.* "He shematized him with four hundred trumpets."

Such, then, were the different degrees of ecclesiastical censure among the Jews. The first of which, we may well suppose, would not be unfrequent among so large a religious community as that of Israel; accordingly our Lord recommends it in Matthew xviii. 15. The second is thought to be referred to in John ix. 22. 34. xii. 42. xvi. 2, where the Jews determined to cast those who embraced Christianity out of the synagogue. The third is alluded to by the apostle in 1 Cor. v. 11. And of the fourth we have two instances: the first in 1 Cor. xvi. 22, where those who love not the Lord Jesus Christ are declared to be anathema maranatha, or under a curse, till the Lord come; and the second in Ezra x. 7, 8, where it is said that "they made a proclamation throughout Judah and Jerusalem, unto all the children of the captivity, that they should gather themselves to-

* Judg. v. 23.

gether unto Jerusalem; and that whosoever would not come within three days, according to the counsel of the princes and the elders, all his substance should be divided, and himself separated from the congregation of those that had been carried away." It will readily be noticed that a double penalty is here threatened to the disobedient; viz. that they should be separated from the children of the captivity, or excluded from sacred privileges and looked upon as heathens, and that their substance was to be divided or confiscated, which commonly implied an application to pious purposes, or to the service of the temple, as the apocryphal book Esdras ix. 4, explains it. Hence some have made the following distinction between the different degrees of censure: The admonition was friendly and private, and lasted for seven days. The Nedui, or separation, was friendly and public; the censure being made known to the congregation, and implying an exclusion from sealing ordinances for thirty days. The Herem, or cutting off, implied both an exclusion from sealing ordinances, and many of the ordinary civilities of life: and the Semetha, or exclusion with a curse, included an utter exclusion from the congregation of Israel, confiscation of property, and exposure to death by the visible interposition of God. It is thought by some that the apostle refers to this last part of the sentence, or death by the hand of God, in 1 Cor. xi. 30, when he tells the Corinthians that, "in consequence of their improper observance of the Lord's supper, many were weak and sickly among them, and many slept or died by the visitation of heaven." And perhaps it is to this visible judgment of God in the apostolical age against egregious offenders, rather than to the unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost, that the apostle John also refers in his 1st Epistle, v. 16, when he says, "If any man see his brother sin a sin, which is not unto

death, he shall ask, and God shall give him life for them that sin not unto death. But there is a sin unto death : I do not say that he should pray for it." He might pray for offenders in general, and even for the souls of those who were under this visible judgment ; but he might not pray for their restoration to health, since God was more glorified, and men more awed by its continuance.

PART XI.

CUSTOMS OF THE JEWS.

IN the former parts of this work we have considered the religion, learning, and laws of the Jews; but there are a number of customs in private life which give much insight into their real character, and serve as a commentary on sacred scripture that ought not to be overlooked. Our method of procedure, however, in these last, must be different from that which was adopted in the former; for besides relying on Jewish writers, whose intimations are few, we must call in the aid of travellers; since the customs of the East have been almost stationary, and the same things are observable in the present day that were practised in the days of the ancient patriarchs. It is granted, indeed, that this is only an approximation to the truth, but it is the best we have in our present circumstances, and affords the same kind of pleasure to the mind that collateral evidence is known to give in a court of justice. The light thrown is often unexpected, and pleases both by its variety and novelty. With these assistants, then, let us exhibit their customs in a variety of particulars.*

* While the present work was in the press, Paxton's *Illustrations of the Holy Scriptures from the geography, natural history, and customs of the East*, made their appearance. As they illustrate and confirm many of the sections which follow, I feel a pleasure in recommending them to my readers.

SECT. I.

Habitations of the Jews.

These affected by the state of society. Tents in pastoral districts described. Villages of stone in rocky situations, and mud in plains. Fenced cities; their walls, gates, locks, wooden keys, bolts and bars. Private *winter houses* of the Jews; of stone, brick, or mud: manner of defending them from the weather. Doors often ornamented: the hole at the side for the portion of the law. Houses in the form of a square, with a court in the middle; their appearance plain towards the street; the windows, lattices; their appearance towards the court beautiful. Their chambers, kiosks, olee or upper rooms; door to the street low; doors into the court large. Ground floor for the family; principal rooms in the second story; fire-places in the family rooms; braziers in the public apartments. Stairs sometimes ornamented with vine; manner of finishing their principal rooms. Way of cooling their chambers; furniture of rooms, carpets; the divan. Chambers of the poor; their beds. The beds of the rich; their musquito nets. Bed-chambers always lighted during the night; often alluded to in Scripture. The *summer houses* of the Jews described; the roofs of houses flat, with battlements: their utility. The eastern nails of houses; keys of wood described. Dr. Shaw's account of eastern houses. Streets of eastern cities dirty in wet, and dusty in dry weather; narrow; the reason why. The gate of the city the most public place. Bazaars; Dr. Russell's and Mr. Kinnear's account of them. Tolls erected at the gate. No clocks; manner of knowing the hour. Police regulations; nuisances removed; water brought by conduits, tanks, or reservoirs. The pools of Solomon described; Gihon, Siloam, Jacob's well. Rights of citizenship. Roads between city and city. Dogs at large without any owner; several texts alluding to this.

It is impossible to form any very accurate notion of the modes of living among the ancient Jews, for we have very few notices of them in history; but we may, perhaps, arrive near the truth, by supposing them to resemble those of the present inhabitants of Palestine, and of the neighbouring countries. As a number of the Jews under the judges and kings were shepherds, their tents would not be unlike those of the present Arabs, as described by Shaw.* “They are the very same,” he observes, “which the ancients called *mapalia*,

* Vol. i. part 3. ch. 3. sect. 6.

being then, as they are now, secured from the weather by a covering of hair cloth. The fashion of each tent is of an oblong figure, not unlike the bottom of a ship turned upside down; however, they differ in bigness, according to the number of people who live in them, and are accordingly supported, some with one pillar, others with two or three, whilst a curtain or carpet, let down upon occasions from each of these divisions, turns the whole into separate apartments. These tents are kept firm and steady by bracing, or stretching down their eves with cords, tied to hooked wooden pins, well pointed, which they drive into the ground with a mallet." "The Arab tents in Palestine," adds he, "are very smoky within," and of a black colour without, for they are covered with black goats' hair cloth;" and D'Arvieux tells us that this hair cloth is woven by women.^b It seems, however, that they are not all black, for the Turkomans in Palestine have white tents;^c and the tents of the Turks are green,^d white, or red.^e It may be proper to add that, although Dr. Shaw describes the Arab tents as smoky, it is not the case with those of all the eastern nations; for some of them are large, and have a magnificent lining under the outer covering, with different articles of elegance, according to their rank.

The villages in Judea would be of stone in elevated situations, but in the plains they were probably built with mud, as Sir Robert Wilson tells us they are in Egypt at this day. "Each habitation," says he, "is built of mud, even the roof, and in shape resembles an oven: within is only one apartment, generally about ten feet square. The door does not admit of a man's entering upright (to prevent the entrance of the Be-

^a Alluded to in Lam. v. 10. l's. cxix. 82.

^b Page 173.

^c D'Arvieux, p. 99, 100.

^d Pocock, vol. ii. p. 115.

^e Jackson, p. 75.

doween Arabs, who are commonly on horseback, and as Zephaniah i. 9, says, leap on, or rather over the threshold,) but as the bottom is dug out about two feet, when in the room an erect posture is possible. A mat, some large vessels to hold water, which it is the constant occupation of the women to fetch, a pitcher made of fine porous clay, found best in Upper Egypt, near Cunei, and in which the water is kept very cool, a rice-pan, and a coffee-pot, are all the ornaments and utensils. Here, then, a whole family eat and sleep, without any consideration of decency or cleanliness, being in regard to the latter, worse than the beasts of the field, who naturally respect their own tenements.”^a For the honour of the Israelites we would gladly hope that, from their superior institutions, they were also superior in these respects to the modern Egyptians. We ought not to forget, however, that as they had villages of mud or clay in low situations, and of stone in rocky ones, so the shepherds were gregarious like their cattle, and villages of tents were therefore seen in the pastoral districts. They were commonly pitched in the form of a circle, like the modern douwars; and, by being in one place to-day, and removed to another the next, they afforded Solomon a lively description of the fleeting state of man.—“One generation or douwar (דור) passeth away, and another generation or douwar cometh.” Eccl. i. 4. And Isaiah^b has the same allusion—“My age (the people of my generation) is departed and removed from me as a shepherd’s tent.” As for the fenced cities, they seem to have been provided with all those means which were supposed to make them impregnable viz. elevated situation, thick and high walls, and iron gates,

^a History of British Expedition into Egypt, vol. i. p. 157, 11th May, 1801.

^b Ch. xxxviii. 12.

and before the invention of cannon they really were so. Houses were often built upon the wall,^a from which persons in danger were sometimes allowed to escape, as the spies from Jericho, and Paul from Damascus.^b It is somewhat remarkable, however, that although the walls and gates of the eastern cities are sometimes very strong, the one being stone below and brick dried in the sun above, and the other, like the gates of Algiers, gate within gate, and the outer plated with iron,^c like that mentioned in Acts xii. 10; yet the locks and keys of these gates are often of wood, of a very simple construction. For Thevenot^d when speaking of Grand Cairo, says, that "all their locks and keys are of wood, and they have none of iron; no, not for their city gates, which may all be easily opened without a key. The keys are bits of timber, with little pieces of wire, that lift up other pieces of wire which are in the lock, and enter into certain little holes, out of which the ends of wire that are in the key having thrust them, the gate is open." These, however, are only for times of peace, when the gates are open during the night;^e for in times of war they are not only locked, but have wooden bars, which draw out from holes in the walls on each side, to secure the gates against every violence. Indeed, Dr. Russel tells us^f that, owing to the great extension of commerce with European nations, the wooden locks have been generally disused, except in the bazars, khanes, and stables.

The walls of the mud houses in the East are commonly built very thick, for the double purpose of excluding the heat and rendering them more durable.^g Mere exposure to the air, however, is hurtful to such perishable

^a Josh. ii. 15.

^b 2 Cor. xi. 33.

^c Pitts, p. 10.

^d Part i. p. 143.

^e Ray's Travels, part i. p. 19.

^f Vol. i. p. 21, 22.

^g Egmont and Heyman, vol. i. p. 330.

materials, and therefore they cover them with a composition of one part sand, two parts wood ashes, and three parts of lime, well mixed, and beaten with wooden mallets for three days and three nights incessantly.^a This defends the external surface for a considerable time, but, unless regularly repaired, it becomes soaked with wet; the hot winds crack it while drying, and the next shower that falls makes it separate from the wall.^b It is to the perishable nature of these mud walls that the Psalmist alluded,^c when he said, that the wicked “shall be as a bowing wall, and as a tottering fence;” and Isaiah had the same thing in his eye when^d he told the Jews, that “their iniquity should be to them as a breach ready to fall, as a swelling out in an high wall, whose breaking cometh suddenly in an instant.” One would suppose that the doors of such houses would be plain; but this is not always the case, for they are often adorned with marble portals, covered and inlaid with great beauty.^e And Buxtorff^f tells us that, after the destruction of Jerusalem, the wise men enjoined that in all their rejoicing they should have a memorial of destruction to remind them of the temple, and inspire them with sentiments like those of David, when he said,^g “If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.” Accordingly, when any person built a house, he was instructed to leave a cubit square, at least unfinished near the door, to remind the possessor of the destruction of their ancient city, and to inscribe it either with the above words in Ps. cxxxvii. 5, or with the words זכר להרבן *zecer leherben*, the memorial of destruction; and since God hath said in Deut. vi. 9, “thou shalt write the words of the law on the posts of thy house, and on thy

^a Shaw, p. 206.^b Chardin.^c Ps. lxii. 3.^d Ch. xxx. 13.^e Maundrell, p. 125.^f Synag. Judaic. cap. 31.^g Ps. cxxxvii. 5.

gates," therefore upon the gates of their houses, and the doors of their chambers, did they fix a sheet of parchment, which they called *מזוזת* *Mezuzè*, on which had been written Deut. vi. 4—9. ix. 13—20. and which, being rolled up, they put into a cane or box, and fixed it to, or inclosed it in the right hand post of the door. Their synagogues required no such parchment, because they were not to dwell in ; and, by the same rule, all other houses not intended for residence were exempted ; but the pious made these a motive to piety, for, by touching the right hand post, on entering or leaving a room, they either said, or seemed to say, " Lord keep me in my going out and coming in, from this time forth and for ever."

The form of eastern houses of note are remarkably uniform : it is probable, therefore, that the ancient habitations of the Jews of rank resembled the following description of Dr. Shaw,* where he tells us that " their houses are commonly built in the form of a square, with an open court in the middle, having only a small latticed window or balcony looking into the street, whilst all the other windows open into their respective courts or quadrangles. Indeed all the beauty and elegance of their houses is only to be seen from these courts ; for, whilst a fountain is cooling the air by throwing its water to a considerable height in the middle of the court, the court itself is paved with marble, and the precincts of the court are surrounded with a cloister (as the *cava ædium* of the Romans was with a peristylum or colonnade,) over which, when the house has one or more stories, there is a gallery erected of the same dimensions with the cloister, having a ballustrade, or else a piece of carved or latticed work going round about it, to pre-

* Part iii. ch. 3. sect. 5.

vent people from falling from it into the court.” The doctor gives us a drawing of one of these fronts, telling us, at the same time, that the only entry into the several apartments is by these cloisters and galleries. With the above agrees the following account of Dr. Russell, where, after having mentioned the quadrangular form, he says, “that side of it which is towards the street is generally plain, consisting of a low door, finished according to the taste of the possessor, and one or more small windows, to prevent any communication with the women’s apartments. The doors are often double, and so contrived as that, when open, one cannot see into the court.”^a They have also benches, where the master often sits for his amusement, receives visits, and despatches business; few persons, not even the nearest relation, having farther admission, except on extraordinary occasions;^b a circumstance alluded to in Ezek. xxxiii. 30. With respect to the windows of the eastern houses, they are either latticed in the dry season with wood, metal, or wire, like those mentioned in Cant. ii. 9, or furnished in the wet season with some semi-transparent substance, to exclude the rain; for glass was not then invented, and in most places is not yet introduced. The common substitute are oyster shells, paper, &c. Such is the appearance of the eastern houses next the streets; and it must be acknowledged that an eastern city is generally an uninteresting object, unless one is permitted to enter the court, where the splendor of the edifice is alone to be seen. Let us enjoy, then, this privilege, and visit the interior of the building.

Houses commonly consist of a first story, ornamented with arches, and an upper story which is flat on the top, and either terraced with hard plaster or paved with

^a Russell’s Aleppo, p. 3.

^b Shaw, p. 207.

stone. Before this upper story, and above the arches which surround the first story, is a colonnade or gallery, called a porch in Judges iii. 23, if not round the whole court, at least fronting the west: branching off from which gallery are their rooms and kiosks, which latter are a sort of wooden divans that project a little from the other buildings, and hang rather over the street. They are raised about a foot and a half higher than the floors of the rooms with which they are connected, and, by having windows in front and on each side, they enjoy a great draught of air, which makes them cool in summer, the advantage chiefly intended by them.* Besides the first and second stories, there is often a third, which consists of one or two rooms only and a terrace, that have a communication with the common gallery and with the porch or street, without disturbing the house. These upper rooms, in Barbary, are called *olee*, the houses themselves being called *dar* or *beet*. And as the *גלילי* *oliè* is often spoken of in the Old Testament,^b and the *ὕψιστος*, which corresponds with it, in the New;^c so Dr. Shaw supposes the places meant by them to have been these smaller rooms upon the roof, or third story, that were apart from the rest of the house.^d When it was formerly said that the doors of the eastern houses are low, for fear of the Arabs, the meaning was, that the street door was of this description, for the doors into the apartments round the court are in general large, to give a free admission to the air; and whilst they are provided with folding doors, to shut them during the night or in cold weather, they have also veils to serve in place of these during the day. The first floor, in these great houses, is the ordinary dwelling

* Russell's Aleppo.

^b Judg. iii. 20—23. 2 Sam. xviii. 24. 2 Kings iv. 10. ix. 2. xxiii. 12.

^c Acts ix. 37. xx. 8, 9.

^d Page 214, &c.

place of the family, their chief rooms being in the second story;^a and several of the family rooms have fire-places; but their public apartments are heated by braziers of charcoal, placed in the middle of the room, that those who are not sufficiently warmed at a distance may more conveniently draw near. Mr. de Guys, in his *Sentimental Journey through Greece*, says, that "this is a very ancient custom all over the East." The stair from the first to the second story is commonly of the usual form; but in houses of the first rank, where the apartments of the women occupy a considerable space, Dr. Russel tells us that the stair which leads to them is sometimes latticed with wood, along which vines creep in such abundance as to cover the wall; and Harmer conjectures that the Psalmist might allude to this in Ps. cxxiii. 3, when he compares a wife to a fruitful vine, and his children to olive plants around his table.—On ascending the second story, each chamber has a communication with the common gallery, but none of them communicate with each other, and their finishing is commonly as follows: the floors are plastered or covered with painted tiles; the lower half of the walls are covered with velvet and damask hangings, and the upper half and the roof are embellished with various devices in wainscoat, inlaid with ivory, and heightened with painting and gilding. The corners are filled with porcelain, gold and silver toys, and the rest of the room with rich furniture.^b Agreeable to this, Dr. Russell tells us, page 2, that "the ceilings of the houses at Aleppo, like those mentioned in Haggai i. 4, are of wood, neatly painted, and sometimes gilded; as are also the window-shutters, the pannels of some of their rooms, and the cupboard doors, of which they have a great

^a Russell, vol. i. p. 18.

^b Shaw, p. 209. Hanway, vol. i. p. 223.

number." "These, taken together," he adds, "have a very agreeable effect." We read of the ancient Jewish houses having something of the same kind of covering in Jer. xxii. 14, where the wicked man is represented as saying, "I will build me a wide house, and large chambers; and he cutteth out windows, and it is ceiled with cedar, and painted with vermillion." In Egypt they are still anxious to proceed on the same plan, and have a peculiar way of cooling their chambers by making them lofty, with a dome at top, having several windows to the north, so constructed as to throw down the air into the rooms, like the wind-sails of ships, which are constructed of canvas, in the form of a trumpet, to catch the fresh air at top, and throw it down between decks. In India they have a different device, for they use a large screen, suspended from the roof, which agitates the air like a fan; and not unfrequently they have a wooden frame, like a harp, placed before the door, and covered with grass, which some of the natives always keep wet, that the air may be cooled as it enters the apartment. The furniture in the upper rooms of persons of distinction commonly consists of the following articles, as we are informed by Dr. Shaw. "They always cover the floors of their houses with carpets, and along the sides of the wall or floor a range of narrow beds or mattresses is often placed upon these carpets; and for their further ease and convenience, several velvet or damask bolsters are placed upon these carpets or mattresses, indulgences that seem to be alluded to by the stretching themselves upon couches, and by the sewing of pillows to arm-holes, in Amos vi. 4, and Ezek. xiii. 18. 20." Thus far the doctor; but Lady M. W. Montague's description of a Turkish lady's apartment

will throw more light on the last of these passages. "The rooms," says she,^a "are all spread with Persian carpets, and raised at one end of them about two feet. This is the sofa, which is laid with a richer sort of carpet, and all round it a sort of couch raised half a foot, covered with rich silk, according to the fancy or magnificence of the owner. Round about this are placed, standing against the walls, two rows of cushions, the first very large, and the next little ones. These seats are so convenient and easy, that I believe," adds her ladyship, "I shall never endure chairs again as long as I live:" and in another place she thus describes the fair Fatima: "On a sofa raised three steps, and covered with the finest Persian carpets, sat the Kahya's lady, leaning on cushions of white satin, embroidered: she ordered cushions to be given me, and took care to place me in the corner, which is the place of honour."^b Here, then, do we see that these drawing rooms of the East are divided into two parts; the one on a level with the floor and covered with rich carpets, and the other, called the divan, raised about two feet, and furnished with cushions for the convenience of the master or mistress of the house and their guests. Dr. Russell's account of these divans is somewhat different from the former, but furnishes us with some additional particulars. "They are raised above the floor," says he, "and spread with a carpet in winter; in summer with fine mats: along the sides are thick mattresses, about three feet wide, covered commonly with scarlet cloth: and large bolsters of brocade, hard stuffed with cotton, are set against the walls (or rails, when so situated as not to touch the walls,) for the convenience of leaning. As they use no chairs, it is upon these

^a Vol. ii. lett. 32.^b Vol. ii. lett. 33.

they sit, and all the rooms are so furnished.”^a It is easy to see that the above observations refer entirely to the dwellings of the rich. Those of the poor are more moderately furnished. Their carpets are of goat skins and mats,^b white, soft skins.^c Sir John Chardin^d tells us that the rich often combine these two together, covering the ground first with pieces of felt, to prevent damp, and then laying one or two beautiful carpets over them. The bed-chambers of persons in lower rank are commonly large, one of them frequently containing a whole family; and the place where they sleep is at the end of the apartment, raised four or five feet higher than it, and separated from it by a veil. This situation is frequently alluded to in Scripture.^e The common Arabs in Palestine have mats only, on which they sleep, and some coverlets, seldom any cushion, a stone serving them for a bolster; but their princes have cushions and coverlets of all sorts, some of them very beautiful, sewed with gold and silk, and others woven and embroidered with flowers of gold and silver, like those of the Turks. They often line these with white cotton, or striped cloth, to make them more durable.^f Dr. Russell tells us that at Aleppo “their beds consist of a mattress laid on the floor, and over this a sheet (in winter a carpet or some such woollen covering,) a divan cushion often serving them for a pillow or bolster, though some have a bolster and pillow as we have.” And Hanway, in speaking of the reception he met with at Lahijan, in the province of Ghilan, in Persia, says, “soon after supper the company retired, and beds were taken out of the niches made in the walls for the purpose, and laid on the carpet. They consisted only of two thick

^a Page 4, note. ^b Chandler, p. 103, 104. ^c Judith xii. 15. ^d Tom. ii. p. 54.

^e Gen. xlix. 4. 2 Kings i. 4. 16. Ps. cxxxii. 3. Is. xxxviii. 2. Amos iii. 12.

^f d'Arvieux, p. 176, 177.

^g Vol. i. p. 144.

cotton quilts, one of which was folded double, and served as a mattress, and the other as a covering, with a large flat pillow for the head."^a In great houses they have several of these mattresses, and a room on purpose to keep them in; so that it is not improbable that the room in which Joash is said to have been concealed, in 2 Kings xi. 2. 2 Chronicles xxii. 11, might have been one of these.

It will easily be seen from the above account that, although a number of individuals in the middling or lower ranks of life may sleep in the same apartment, they do not sleep on the same mattress. When the wise man, therefore, speaks of two lying in one bed,^b it must have a reference to winter, for in the summer the family use mattresses for each, on account of the heat. In general, persons of rank have their beds surrounded with a net to keep out the mosquitos, which is described by Dr. Shaw as a "close curtain of gauze, or fine linen, used all over the East by people of better condition, to keep out the flies."^c And that they had such anciently cannot be doubted; for it is said of Michal, when favouring David's escape, in 1 Sam. xix. 13, that "she took an image, or teraphim, and laid it in the bed, and put the net work of goat's hair before its (the teraphim's) pillows." This is the literal translation as given by Parkhurst.^d When Judith had beheaded Holofernes in his bed, she pulled down the canopy, literally, the mosquito-net (*το κωνικειον*, from *κωνικη*, a gnat or mosquito,) wherein he did lie in his drunkenness, from the pillars to which it was suspended, and dedicated it to the Lord.^e And Horace, speaking of the Roman soldiers under Cleopatra queen of Egypt, says,

^a Travels, vol. i. p. 224.

^b Eccles. iv. 11.

^c Page 221.

^d Lex. כנר.

^e Judith xiii. 9. 15. xvi. 19.

Interque signa (turpe !) militaria

Sol aspicit conopeum.

Epod. ix. line 15.

Mr. Bates, in his New and literal translation, thinks that it was this thick cloth which Hazael dipped in water, and therewith suffocated Benhadad.^a But now that we are speaking of the bed-chambers of the East, we may add that they are never dark, for every inhabited bed-room is lighted by a lamp, and the poorest people would rather retrench part of their food than neglect it. Captain Light, who travelled in Egypt and the Holy Land A.D. 1814, thus describes them: "They are formed of a small tumbler, partly filled with water, on which a sufficient quantity of oil is poured, and in the centre of which is fixed the lighted wick."^b The oil used in Egypt is of different kinds. The finest is oil olive; but the common is the juice of a certain root which grows in the marshes of that country, called cirika or sesamum, and looks a good deal like succory. It has a disagreeable smell, and a less beautiful light than oil of olives.^c The common oil at Aleppo is obtained from the ricinus. This constant light in their houses during the night gives much force to several passages of scripture.^d

Hitherto we have been speaking of the winter houses or fixed habitations of the East; but as we read both of winter and summer houses in the prophets,^e it is proper to attend a little to the last of these. Summer houses are commonly situated in the country, and are resorted to in April and May on account of their coolness. Dr. Shaw gives the following account of those about Algiers: "The hills and valleys round about Algiers," says he, "are all over beautified with gardens and country-seats,

^a 2 Kings viii. 15.

^b Page 11.

^c Maillet, Lett. 9.

^d Job xviii. 6. xxi. 17. xxix. 3. Ps. xviii. 28. Prov. xxiv. 20. xxxi. 18. Jer. xxv. 10. Rev. xviii. 23.

^e Jer. xxxvi. 22. Amos iii. 15.

whither the inhabitants of better fashion retire during the heat of the summer season. They are little white houses, shaded with a variety of fruit trees and ever-greens, which, besides the shade and retirement, afford a gay and delightful prospect towards the sea. The gardens are all of them well stocked with melons, fruits, and pot-herbs of all kinds; and, what is chiefly regarded in these hot climates, each of them enjoys a great command of water.”^a Perhaps the ivory house which king Ahab made was something of this kind, only more elegant.^b

We have said little as yet about the roofs of the eastern houses; but they were in ancient times, and are still, always flat, covered either with tiles like those raised by the persons who let down the man sick of the palsy to be cured by Jesus,^c or a strong plaster of terrace, and guarded on every side with a low parapet wall or battlement.^d The terrace on the roof is frequented as much as any part of the house; for on this, as the season favours, they walk, they eat, they sleep, they transact business,^e and perform their devotions.^f As the windows also, which look into the street, are both small and closely latticed, whenever any thing is to be seen or heard in the streets, any public spectacle, or any alarm of a public nature, every one immediately goes up to the house-top to satisfy his curiosity. And when any one has occasion to make any thing public, the readiest and most effectual way of doing it is to proclaim it from the house-tops to the people in the streets: to which our Lord alludes in Matt. x. 27.^g The nails of the eastern houses are still similar to those which are mentioned in Scripture, and are thus described by Sir

^a Page 34.

^b 1 Kings xxii. 39.

^c Luke v. 19.

^d Deut. xxii. 8.

^e 1 Sam. ix. 25. ^f Acts x. 9.

^g Lowth's Isaiah, ch. xxii. 1, note.

John Chardin: "They do not drive with a hammer the nails that are put into the eastern walls: for the walls are too hard, being of brick; or if they are of clay, too mouldering: but they fix them in the brick work, or clay, as they are building. They are large nails with square heads like dice, well made; the ends being bent, so as to make them like cramp irons. They commonly place them at the windows and doors, in order to hang veils and curtains upon them when they choose."^a It appears, from Lowth's *Isaiah*,^b that amongst the Jews they were put up in other places besides these mentioned by Chardin, in order to hang up various articles of other kinds; and we know that they are often alluded to in the Old Testament.^c When speaking of the gates of cities, mention was made of the locks and keys of the gates of Grand Cairo: but it may be proper to say something more particular of the locks and keys of private buildings. The first of these are never mentioned in Scripture; but as the customs of the East have been remarkably stationary, the locks of the Jewish houses may have perhaps resembled those described by Homer in his *Odyssey*, when he says that a silken cord, with a silver ring, served to draw out the bolt which fastened the folding doors of the bed-chamber of Telemachus; and that a lock of a somewhat similar construction secured the storehouse of Ulysses.^d From consulting the extract given from Huetius by Parkhurst (חֶרֶט,) and the Note by Lowth in his *New Translation of Isaiah*, ch. xxii. 22, it appears that the most ancient kinds of keys were of wood, large, and bent somewhat in the form of a hook. Aratus, to give his reader an idea of the form of the constellation Cassiopeia, compares it to

^a Harmer's *Ob.* ch. i. p. 191.

^b Chap. xxi. 23, note.

^c *Ezra* ix. 8, *Is.* xxii. 23. 25. *Ezek.* xv. 3. *Zech.* x. 4. *Eccles.* xiv. 24. xxvii. 2.

^d *Odyssey*, i. 441. xxi. 46.

a key, which Huetius says answers this description : the stars in the north making the curve part, and the stars in the south the handle. Homer^a describes the key of Ulysses' storehouse as of a large curvature, which Eustathius explains by saying it was in shape like a reap-hook. Ulysses' key, indeed was of brass, and the handle of ivory, but this was a royal key ; the more common ones were probably of wood. We may easily collect from this account that such keys would rather be incommodious to carry in the hand, and that they could very well lie on the shoulder, as Isaiah says in ch. xxii. 22.

In addition to all that has been said of the eastern houses, we may add an extract from Dr. Shaw,^b which may be considered as an epitome of the whole. "The general method," says he, "of building, both in Barbary and the Levant, seems to have continued the same from the earliest ages down to this time, without the least alteration or improvement. The court is, for the most part, surrounded with a cloister, over which, when the house has one or more stories, there is a gallery erected. From the cloisters or galleries we are conducted into large spacious chambers, of the same length with the court, but seldom or never communicating with one another. One of them frequently serves a whole family : particularly when a father indulges his married children to live with him, or when several persons join in the rent of the same house." This was exactly the *בית חברה* *Bith heber*, or "house of society," mentioned in Prov. xxv. 24, and translated so by the Septuagint and Vulgate, *οικος κοινος*, *domus communis*, although our version hath rendered it "a wide house." "It is better to dwell in the corner of the house-top, in some temporary hut or

^a Odyassey, xxi. 6.

^b Page 207, 208.

kiosk, than with a brawling woman in a house of society, parcelled out among several families, although the rooms should be large and commodious." From the foregoing account of the eastern houses it may easily be supposed that the streets are very dusty in dry weather, and dirty in wet:^a and we are also informed that (like the present streets of Venice, mentioned by Goëthe in his *Memoirs*) they are very narrow, that the passengers may be shaded by the walls of the houses from the rays of the sun. Indeed, those of Bagdad are so narrow, that two horsemen meeting can scarcely pass.^b It is generally known that, among the Israelites, the gate of the city was the forum, or place of general concourse;^c the place where the court of judicature was commonly held;^d and the market place for all kinds of merchandise.^e Even at this day the palace of Constantinople is called the *Porte*, in allusion to the ancient place of judgment: but the markets in these countries have been generally transferred from the gate to some particular place, where each kind of merchandise has its particular bazar. The following is Dr. Russell's account of them:^f "They are properly long, covered, narrow streets, on each side of which are a number of small shops, just sufficient to hold the tradesman, and perhaps one or two more, with all the commodities he deals in about him, the buyer being obliged to stand without. Each separate branch of business has a separate bazar allotted them." Mr. Macdonald Kinneir^g says, that "the bazar of Shirauz, the principal city of the province of Fars, in Persia, is in length about a

^a Ruins of Balbec, p. 124, 125.

^b Macdonald Kinneir's *Geograph. Memoir of Persia*, 1810, p. 24.

^c Prov. i. 21. viii. 3.

^d Deut. xxv. 7. Ruth iv. 1—9. 2 Sam. xv. 2. 2 Chron. xviii. 9. Ps. cxxvii. 5. Prov. xxii. 22. xxiv. 7. xxxi. 23. Lam. v. 14. Amos v. 15. ^e 2 Kings vii. 1. 18.

^f Hist. of Aleppo, p. 5, 6.

^g *Geograph. Memoir of Persia*, 1810, p. 62.

quarter of a mile, made of yellow brick, and arched at the top, having numerous skylights, which, with its doors and windows, always admit sufficient light and air, whilst the sun and rain are completely excluded. This bazar is allotted to the different traders of the city, all of whom have their assigned quarters, which they possess under strict regulations." The fairs of Tyre in Ezekiel xxvii. 12, 16, 19, 22, were nothing else than these bazars; and it appears, from Ezra iv. 19, 20. vii. 24, that they were in the habit of collecting toll or custom at the gates of certain cities, for articles brought for sale, somewhat like the present caphar of the Turks. When any nation, therefore, obtained the privilege of a street in the city of a neighbouring king, as was given by Benhadad to Ahab in the city of Damascus,* it meant that they had the privilege of a bazar, covered and locked in at either end to ensure their property, a mill for grinding their flour, an oven for baking it, a bath free from tax to the king, weights and measures for wine, oil, and honey, free from tax also, and the power of judging in their own street.^b See some sensible remarks on the Jewish houses and furniture, in Fleury's Manners of the ancient Israelites, part ii. chap. 7.

The people of the East having no clocks, the watchmen of the cities give the information: and Chardin says that they divide the day and night into eight parts, the watchmen informing the inhabitants of the expiry of each of these by cries or drums. It will easily be seen how his account corresponds with, and is illustrated by, the Indian method of computing time, given by an eye and ear witness, when we were speaking of the Migra-pitha which lay between the porch and the altar:^c and

* 1 Kings xx. 34.

^b Clarke's Harmer, ch. ix. ob. 77.

^c Part ii. sect. 6.

how both give us an idea of the manner in which the Jewish watchmen went about the streets. It appears that they told the hour, and had questions and responses, to which Isaiah alludes^a when he says, "Watchmen, what of the night? The morning cometh and also the night:" and Malachi ii. 12; when it is threatened that God would "cut off the master and scholar," as we have it in our translation, but which Arias Montanus and Bishop Lowth make "the watchman and the answerer."^b I shall next add a few regulations which were considered as generally binding on the inhabitants of Jewish cities. Dove-cotes were forbidden to be erected within fifty cubits of the walls, lest the pigeons should injure the gardens. No tree was allowed to grow within twenty-five cubits of the walls. No threshing-floor was permitted within fifty cubits, lest the chaff should offend the citizens. No dead carcasses or burial places were allowed within fifty cubits: and no tan-pits within fifty cubits, nor on any other side of the city but the east.^c

Their anxiety, also, about procuring water for the supply of the inhabitants was very commendable: for the Syrian summer lasted long, and many of the rivulets then dried up. Hence the value of "living fountains of waters,"^d or perennial springs, to which even God is compared in Jer. xvii. 13; and when these were not in sufficient abundance, they either made pools for the reception of water in the rainy season,^e or conducted springs, at great expense, from a considerable distance. Those of the first kind are well known in the East by the name of tanks, and are often of great extent. When Chateaubriand was travelling from Joppa to Jerusalem, in 1806, he saw a small tank admirably contrived to preserve

^a Isaiah xxi. 11, 12. ^b New Translation of Isaiah, ch. lxiii. 6. note.

^c Lightf. Chorog. cent. of the land of Israel, ch. xcvi.

^d Jer. ii. 13. Rev. vii. 17. ^e Joseph. War, iii. 7.

the water from evaporation. "Before we reached it," says he, meaning Ramlè or Rama, "we went out of the road to look at a cistern, a work of Constantine's mother. You go down to it by twenty-seven steps: it is thirty-three feet in length and thirty broad, is composed of twenty-four arches, and receives the rain-water by twenty-four apertures."* They use these tanks for family purposes, for drink to their cattle, and for watering their gardens and fields. If they were filled in Judea by a fall of rain in the beginning of February, Dr. Shaw tells us^b that they were sure of an abundant harvest, because it filled the springs and reservoirs in time to carry on the purposes of vegetation: a circumstance so much rejoiced in, that Amos mentions it ch. iv. 7, 8; and Drs. Pococke^c and Shaw^d both remark the assiduity of the inhabitants in carrying water to hilly inclosures in the dry season, in jars, from wells, rivers, or capacious cisterns.—But, besides supplying their cities and fields from tanks, or cisterns, they also brought water from perennial springs into cities or their neighbourhood, at great expense. Maundrell^e gives the following account of the pools of Solomon: "On the 1st of April, 1696, we went to see the remarkable places in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, the first of which was the famous fountain and pools said to be king Solomon's, and to which he is supposed to allude in Cant. iv. 12. Eccl. ii. 6. As for the pools, they are three in number, lying in a row above each other, being so disposed that the waters of the uppermost may descend into the second, and those of the second into the third. Their figure is quadrangular; the breadth is the same in all, amounting to about ninety paces: in their length there is some

* Travels, vol. i. p. 363, 364.

^b Page 335.

^c Vol. ii. p. 61.

^d Page 408.

^e Page 88.

difference between them, the first being about 160 paces long, the second 200, the third 220: they are all lined with wall, and plastered, and contain a great depth of water." Such is the account which this traveller gives of the pools which were Solomon's: of the fountain he thus speaks: "Close to the pools is a pleasant castle of modern structure, and about 140 paces from it is the fountain from which the pools chiefly derive their waters, which the friars will have to be the sealed fountain to which the spouse is compared." In confirmation of which opinion they pretend a tradition that king Solomon shut up these springs, and kept the door sealed with his signet, in order to preserve the waters in their natural freshness and purity for his own drinking. And, indeed, this would not have been difficult, as they rise under ground, and have no avenues to them but a hole like the mouth of a narrow well, through which there is a descent of about four yards, which opens into a vaulted room, fifteen paces long and eight broad: joining to this is another room of the same form, but somewhat less, and both of them covered with handsome stone arches, that are very ancient. There are four places at which the water rises, whence it is conveyed by little rivulets into a kind of bason, and covered from thence by a large subterraneous passage into the pools: but, before it arrives at them, a part of the stream flows into an aqueduct of brick pipes, that carries it by turnings and windings about the mountains to Jerusalem." On the 31st August, 1814, when Captain Light visited these pools and aqueduct, they were empty, that being the driest season of the year; and we are particularly told that "the communication with Jerusalem, which the aqueduct once had, is now cut off."^a But this was not the

^a Cant. iv. 12.^b Page 168.

whole of the water which supplied Jerusalem : for, not to mention the brook Kidron, which though dry in summer, was a considerable stream in winter, there were two pools in or near the city supplied by springs : the upper pool, or the old pool, supplied by the spring called Gibon,^a towards the higher part of the city, in the highway of the fuller's field,^b near Zion, or the city of David ; and the lower pool, probably supplied by Siloam, towards the lower part. When Hezekiah was threatened with a siege by Sennacherib, he stopped up all the waters of the fountains without the city, and brought them into the city by a conduit, or subterraneous passage cut through the rock. This he did in order to distress the enemy, and to supply the city during the siege : and it was reckoned so great a work, that it is mentioned not only in 2 Kings xx. 20, and 2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4, 30, but by the son of Sirach, in his encomium on Hezekiah, in Eccles. xlviii. 17, and by Tacitus, in his history.^c Josephus^d informs us that long after Hezekiah's days, Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judea, undertook to bring a current of water to Jerusalem, with the public money, from the distance of two hundred furlongs, (twenty-five miles ;) but that the Jews opposed the measure, as a misapplication of the money which belonged to the Temple. In his Wars of the Jews he makes the distance four hundred furlongs, and explains the sacred treasure to mean the Corban.^e It appears, however, that while every method was taken to supply the public from wells and cisterns, there were several fountains which were private property ; to which Solomon beautifully alludes in Prov. v. 15 : " Drink waters out of thine own cistern, and running waters out of thine own

^a 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.^b 2 Kings xviii. 17.^c Lib. v. cap. 12.^d Antiq. xviii. 3.^e Book ii. 9.

well." One of these was the well of Jacob, mentioned in John iv. 6, which is thus described by Maundrell: "Having proceeded one third of an hour from Naplosa, which is the ancient Sychar, we came to Jacob's well, famous for the memorable conference of our blessed Saviour with the woman of Samaria. Over this well there formerly stood a large church, erected by the empress Helena, of which the remains of the foundation are still to be seen. The well is at present* covered with an old stone vault, into which you are let down through a very strait hole, and then removing a broad flat stone, you discover the mouth of the well, which is dug in the firm rock. It is about three yards in diameter, and thirty-five yards in depth, five of which we found were filled with water." As the Samaritan woman objects to our Saviour that he had nothing to draw with, which such wells naturally required, we may observe, that when there was no flight of steps to get down to the reservoirs or wells, when the water began to fail, travellers often carried leathern buckets to enable them to fill the skins which carried their water: and that at the wells which were not deep there were often small vessels attached for the convenience of travellers, and troughs of stone for the watering of cattle. I have been thus particular about the manner in which they supplied cities with water, since it has been repeatedly observed, that in such warm latitudes, the existence of animals and vegetables depends upon it.

I shall only add a few observations on their rights of citizenship. If a man tarried in a city thirty days, he became one of the citizens in respect of the alms chest; that is, those who went round required from him alms for the poor. If six months, he became a citizen in re-

* 24th March, 1696.

spect of clothing: that is, they required him to assist, not only in supporting, but in clothing the poor. If nine months, he became a citizen in respect of burying; that is, of assisting to bury the poor. And if twelve months, he became a citizen in respect of all the tributes and taxes which the other citizens paid.^a The roads between city and city were eight cubits wide, regularly cast up, or formed. Hence Jeremiah xviii. 15, calls by-paths, ways not cast up. A private road was four cubits; a public road was sixteen cubits; and the roads to the cities of refuge were thirty-two cubits. Josephus tells us that, "with respect to Jerusalem, Solomon laid a causeway of black stone along the roads that led to it; both to render them easy to travellers, and to manifest the grandeur of his riches and government."^b In Ps. lix. 9, 14, 15, the Psalmist speaks of a singular attendant on Jewish cities, viz, a number of dogs that had no master, and that were allowed to roam at large. It is rather particular that the same practice prevails in the East at this day. Le Bruyn, among others, gives the following account of this public nuisance: "Great numbers," says he, "crowd the streets. They do not belong to any one, but either get their food as they can, or are supported by the charitable, who give money to bakers and butchers to feed them, and even leave legacies for that purpose."^c In Shaw's Abridgment of Bruce's Travels into Abyssinia,^d we are told that "the dead bodies of criminals slain for treason, murder, and violence, on the highway, are seldom buried in Abyssinia: and that the streets of Gondar, the capital, are strewn with pieces of their carcasses, which bring the wild beasts in multitudes into the city, as soon as it becomes dark;

^a Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. Matt. iv. 13.

^b Antiq. viii. 7.

^c Tom. i. p. 361, 362.

^d Page 216.

so that it is scarcely safe for any one to walk in the night. "The dogs," he adds, "used to bring pieces of human bodies into the house, and court-yard, to eat them in greater security." And Chateaubriand,* when speaking of Galata, near Constantinople, says, that "the almost total absence of women, the want of wheel carriages, and the multitude of dogs without masters, were the three distinguishing characteristics that first struck him in the interior of this city." The curse, therefore, that was denounced against the houses of Jeroboam, Baasha, and Ahab, kings of Israel, would be literally fulfilled. "Him that dieth in the city shall the dogs eat, and him that dieth on the field shall the fowls of the air eat; for the Lord hath spoken it.^b And the following judgment on the Jews, as recorded by Jeremiah,^c would be literally accomplished, "I will appoint over them four kinds, saith the Lord; the sword to slay, and the dog to tear, and the fowls of the heaven, and the beasts of the earth to devour and destroy."

SECT. II.

Marriages of the Jews.

Espousing; copy of the contract; dowry given to the bride, laid out in marriage dresses; custom at Aleppo and in Egypt. Persons in the East always marry young; young men to virgins; widowers to widows. The bride elegantly dressed; virgins married on the fourth day of the week, and widows on the fifth: one divorced or a widow, could not marry till after ninety days. The marriage procession of the bridegroom to the house of the bride: the marriage ceremony; procession of both parties to the house of the bridegroom: commonly in the night. The songs and ceremonies during the procession; marriage supper; office of architriclinus: the paranymphs; the shushbenin. Music and dancing after supper. Signs of virginity: consequences if they appeared not. Marriage feast lasted eight days: that of a widow only three. The bride had commonly a slave given her by her parents. Husbands exempted from military service for a year; Alexander the Great did this after the battle of the Granicus. A large family accounted a bless-

* Travels, vol. i. p. 315.

^b 1 Kings xiv. 11. xvi. 4, xxii. 24.

^c Jer. xv. 3.

ing ; sterility, a curse. Concubinage not reckoned disgraceful : difference between a concubine and a wife ; Solomon's concubines much exceeded by by some eastern monarchs. Polygamy, its effects on population and domestic happiness. Divorce ; copy of a bill of divorce ; formalities used on delivery. Copy of a divorce at the wife's instance. The *jus leviratus*, or law concerning the brother's widow ; its existence before the giving of the law ; ceremonies anciently observed ; ceremonies observed in case of refusal. The Athenian law similar to the Jewish ; also the Circassians, Druses, and Mahomedans. The frequent allusions in Scripture to the marriages of the Jews.

IN the pentateuch the laws concerning marriage are particularly enumerated ; but as the traditions added much to the original statutes, it may be necessary to consider these, in order to understand the manner in which the Jews entered into the state of wedlock.

The first thing then, deserving of notice, was their *espousals*. These were entered into sometimes at an early age, with the ostensible purpose of preserving the chastity of their children ; but frequently from avaricious or ambitious motives. And hence it happened, that several years would sometimes elapse between the espousals and the public celebration. The marriage of Herod to Mariamne was not till four years after the espousals.^a In general, however, they were not so distant ; one, two, or three months, were allowed to intervene, in order to settle preliminaries, and to prepare the articles which custom had rendered necessary :—As to their manner of espousal, it was different in the different stages of the Jewish history. For, before the giving of the law, if a man and woman agreed on marriage, he brought her to his house, and privately married her : but after the giving of the law, she was commonly espoused before witnesses, in one or other of the following ways : viz. either by giving her two hundred zuzim, equal to 1*l.* 1*s.* 6½*d.*;^b or by written contract : a copy of which, as used among

^a Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 15.

^b A priest's daughter always got 400. Lightf. vol. i. p. 282.

the modern Jews, Buxtorff has given us in his *Synag. Judaic.* cap. 39.

In ancient times, before he married, the bridegroom was obliged to make two presents, one to his betrothed wife, and the other to his father-in-law. Thus Shechem, son of Hamor, says to Jacob and his sons, whose daughter he was desirous to espouse, "Ask me never so much dowry and gifts,"^a the dowry, viz. for the daughter, and the gifts for the father-in-law. In 1 Sam. xviii. 25, Saul makes them say to David, who by reason of his poverty had said that he could not be son-in-law to the king, "the king desireth not any dowry." And, in both the cases, we see that the presents were commonly regulated by the father of the bride. This dowry given by the bridegroom to the bride, or her parents, sounds rather odd in our ears, where a contrary practice prevails: but it was customary among the Greeks;^b and it is the practice to this day in several countries of the East; where a numerous family of daughters, in place of being an incumbrance, is often a source of emolument to the parents. For as the present custom does not now confine the dowry to any specific sum, it commonly depends on the ability of the bridegroom, or the value he sets on her charms, or the honour of the intended connexion, or the avarice of the parents.^c But the love of pomp, and a concern for the honour of the bride's family, often counteracts the influence of avarice, and leads them to restore to their intended son-in-law what he had given; for Dr. Shaw^d tells us, that "the money they pay for their brides is laid out, at Aleppo, in furniture for a chamber, in clothes, jewels, or ornaments of gold

^a Gen. xxxiv. 12.

^b Homer, *Il.* ix. 146. xi. 243—245. *Odys.* i. 277. ii. 196. Potter's *Greek Antiq.* Book. iv. ch. 11.

^c Gen. xxxix. 12, 13. La Roque, p. 222.

^d Vol. i. p. 284, 285.

for the bride ; whose father makes some addition, according to his circumstances, which things are sent with great pomp to the bridegroom's house three days before the wedding ;" and Maillet tells us, that " the same thing happens in Egypt on the wedding day, when the gifts are carried in grand procession before the bride, carpets, cushions, mattresses, coverlets, dishes, basons, jewels, trinkets of gold, pearls, girdles, plate, every thing down to the wooden sandals, wrought with mother of pearl ; and, through ostentation, they never fail to load upon four or five horses what might easily be carried by one : in like manner as to the jewels, trinkets, and other things of value, they place in fifteen dishes what a single plate would have held."^a Young men, in Samson's days, made a feast at betrothing ; his lasted seven days, during which they amused themselves with riddles and other amusements.^b And I ought not to forget, that the practice of serving a certain time for a wife was not uncommon. Jacob served Laban fourteen years for Rachel and Leah ; and " the Burdooraunees in Cabul, even at this day, live some of them with their future father-in-law, and earn their bride by their services, like Jacob and Rachel, without ever seeing the object of their wishes."^c

But we are now approaching the time when the public celebration of the marriage took place ; we must therefore attend to its most striking formalities. Persons in the East have always married very young. Thus Neibuhr, in his account of Arabia, p. 63, says, that he had heard, that in Persia girls are married at nine years of age, and that one of them was a mother at thirteen ; but Dr. Shaw's account is still more remarkable, for he tells us, that they are sometimes mothers at eleven,

^a Lett. 10. ^b Judg. xiv. 10, 12, 17. ^c Elphinstone's Cabul, b. ii. ch. 3.

grandmothers at twenty-two, and past childbearing at thirty.^a After all, may it not be doubted whether these early marriages are the effect of climate on the human frame, which should extend to the lower animals? And ought we not to seek it rather in the degraded state in which women are held, the corrupted forms of their religion and government, and the unusual license that is universally given to inordinate desire? As for the short season of fertility which travellers mention, this may be occasioned by their entering so early into the state of wedlock, and the prevalence of polygamy; for the women in the East live as long as those in western climates: the period alluded to bears commonly a certain proportion to the rest of life, and the marriages in Scripture evidently militate against the hypothesis of those who would explain all from the influence of climate. Lady Mary W. Montagu refers the marriages of the East to prudential motives. "Early marriages," says she, "are considered necessary for the preservation of character; for among the Turks there is no remaining honourably a single woman,"^b which also appears to have been the case among the Jews; for a continuance in virginity was commonly connected with the person being a prophetess, or devoted to God. Hence the case of Jephthah's daughter, in Judges ii. 40, of whom Iphigenia is a transcript.^c 2d, We may remark from Sir John Chardin, that it is a custom in the East for youths that have never been married always to marry virgins, and for widowers, however young, always to marry widows.^d In the 3d place, on the day of the marriage, the bride was as elegantly dressed as her circumstances would permit; for

^a Travels, p. 241, 242. See also Shaw's Abridgment of Bruce's Travels, p. 299, and Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, book xvi. ch. 2.

^b Letters, vol. iii. p. 36.

^c Adam's Geography, p. 406.

^d Clarke's Harmer, ch. ii. ob. 81.

she was led by the women into the dressing chamber, without her veil, and with dishevelled hair, marriage songs being sung before her as she went: she was there placed on a beautiful seat, where they disposed her hair in ringlets (hence compared to the long curled hair of a flock of goats on Mount Gilead, in Cant. iv. 1.) and ornamented it with ribands and trinkets (hence said to resemble the royal purple in Cant. vii. 5.) They then decked her in her wedding attire, and veiled her like Rebecca, amidst the songs and rejoicings of her attendants. Thus was she prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.^a 4th, A virgin was married on the fourth day of the week, or Wednesday, that if any doubts were entertained of her virginity, they could be settled by the council of three on the Thursday, which was a synagogue and court day; and a widow was married on the fifth day of the week, or Thursday.^b 5th, A woman that was either divorced, or a widow, neither married nor was espoused, till after ninety days, that it might be ascertained whether she was with child by her former husband; and if two heathens, that had been married, became proselytes to Judaism, they did not cohabit for the same length of time, that it might be seen which of their children were heathens, and which were Jews.^c 6th, When the hour of marriage arrived, four persons walked before the bridegroom, carrying a canopy supported by four poles, that if the bride intended to walk home to the bridegroom's house after the ceremony, she might walk under it in company with her husband; and in the interim, if either stood before the door, in the street, or was taken into the court, around which the house was built, if the

^a Is. lxi. 10. Rev. xxi. 2.

^b Buxtorff, Synag. Jud. cap. 39.

^c Lightf. Heb. and Talmud. Exercit. on Matt. i. 18.

marriage ceremony was to be performed there, all the bride's party exclaimed, ברוך ה' *Beruk' eba*, Blessed is he who cometh: welcoming thus the bridegroom and his friends.^a 7th, During the ceremony, if the father gave away his daughter, he took her by the hand, as Raguel did Sara, when she was married to Tobit, presented her to the bridegroom, and said, "Behold, take her, after the law of Moses, and lead her away;" blessing them, taking paper, writing an instrument of covenants, and sealing it.^b But if the father did not act as the celebrator, the bride stood on the right hand of the bridegroom, in allusion to Ps. xlv. 9, and the Rabbi or Hezen of the synagogue, who acted as celebrator, took the extremity of the טלית *Telith*, that was about the bridegroom's neck, and covered with it the head of the bride, as Boaz did Ruth, ch. iii. 9. After which he consecrated a cup of wine with the following blessing, "Blessed be thou, O God, king of Israel, who hast created the fruit of the vine, who hast sanctified us by thy precepts, and forbidden us to be guilty of incest; who hast prohibited us from betrothed persons, and permitted marriage by betrothing and the nuptial rite." To which the by-standers replied, "Blessed be thou, who hast sanctified thy people Israel by espousals and the nuptial rite,"—and the cup being thus blessed, was given to the two contracting parties: the bridegroom afterwards taking the ring (a modern invention instead of the 200 zuzim,) and putting it on the finger of the bride, said, "Lo, thou art married to me with this ring, according to the form of Moses and of Israel."—Two witnesses were then called (aside, I suppose, to prevent unnecessary publicity) to hear the marriage contract read; and after they returned, a second cup of wine was con-

^a Buxtorff. Synag. Jud. cap. 39.

^b Tobit vii. 13, 14.

separated, and divided among the guests.* 8th, Matters were next so ordered, as to prepare for setting out to the house of the bridegroom, when, if there was a canopy, the bride and bridegroom walked under it; (hence says the spouse, "his banner over me was love," Cant. ii. 4) but if none, the bride and her companions were veiled, she, however, far deeper than they. Accordingly Neibuhr gives us a representation of a nuptial procession, where the bride is veiled all over, and attended by other women in common veils, which did not prevent their eyes from being seen. Sometimes, also, they used a palanquin, and were carried in state from the one house to the other; and it seems to have been to this that David alludes in Ps. xlv. 13, when he says, "The king's daughter is all glorious within the palanquin, viz. her clothing is of wrought gold." And to this that Solomon refers, when he says of the chariot of the bridegroom, that "its wood was of cedar, its pillars of silver, its bottom of gold, its covering of purple, and the midst thereof paved with love, or poetical amorous inscriptions or devices, for the daughters of Jerusalem," Cant. iii. 9, 10, somewhat like the inside of the present Turkish coaches mentioned by Lady Mary W. Montagu, vol. i. let. 25. 9th, The Jewish marriage processions were commonly in the night, by torch-light. Accordingly Lightfoot tells us, that they carried before them ten wooden staves, having each of them at top a vessel like a dish, in which was a piece of cloth or wick, dipped in oil, to give light to the company.^b So that the parable of the ten virgins was evidently a delineation of national manners, since they required, in that case, not only to have oil in their lamps, but to have vessels con-

* Buxtorff, Synag. Judaic. cap. 39. Basnage, Relig. of Jews, book v. ch. 19.

^b Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Matt. xxv. 1.

taining a quantity of oil, in order to replenish these lamps from time to time. Indeed we have several allusions to the same custom in various passages of Scripture. Thus the spouse, when speaking of the bridegroom, says, "My beloved is white and ruddy, the chiefest among ten thousand," or, as the original expresses it, "lighted with ten thousand," thereby meaning that he dazzled beholders as much as a bridegroom attended with ten thousand lamps;" and the bridegroom says of the spouse, that she is "terrible as an army with banners," or literally, that she is dazzling as women shone upon with the nuptial lamps, when their rich attire reflected a dazzling lustre. 10th, As they went to the bridegroom's house, every person that met them gave place to the procession; a cup of wine was carried before them; they were accompanied with music and dancing, Ps. xlv. 15, (hence the children at their sport, when imitating a marriage procession, said, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced, Luke vii. 32.) And the praises of the bridegroom were sung in strains like those in Ruth iv. 11, 12. "The Lord make the woman that is come into thine house like Rachel and like Leah, which two did build the house of Israel; and do thou worthily in Ephratah, and be famous in Bethlehem. And let thy house be like the house of Pharez, whom Tamar bare unto Judah, of the seed which the Lord shall give thee of this young woman:" whilst the praises of the bride were also celebrated in the following manner: "She hath no need of paint, nor stibium (meaning antimony, with which they painted the eyebrows,) no plaiting of hair, nor any such thing, for she is of herself most beautiful." Money was scattered among the crowd, to remind them, if need required,

* Cant. v. 10.

that they had been present at the wedding; and barley also was sown before them, as denoting their wishes for a numerous progeny.^a 11th, Having reached the house of the bridegroom, they sat down to the marriage supper, each clothed with a wedding garment;^b and etiquette required that the bride and bridegroom should remain silent, whilst the honours of the table were done by the Architriclinus, or governor of the feast,^c literally the person who presided over the triclinia or couches, on which they lay by threes, and who is supposed by Lightfoot to have been the person who was appointed to ask a blessing on the entertainment. But besides him, there were two other official persons, called Paranymphe, or friends of the bridegroom and the bride,^d whose Hebrew name was שושבנין *Shushbenin*, and whose office was to be assisting to them as man and maid, especially at their entry into the nuptial chamber.^e It was to Samson's friend, or Shushben, as the Chaldee paraphrase explains it, that his intended wife was given by her parents.^f And they are particularly mentioned in the following canon,—“A bride, a bridegroom, the Shushbenin, and the children of the bride-chamber, are freed from keeping the feast of tabernacles.”^g After the feast was ended, mirth and dancing prevailed,^h which made Jeremiah mention the want of them as a mark of desolation; but whether the bride and bridegroom's parties remained together, or were in separate apartments, is not said: the last is most conformable with the manners of the East,ⁱ and, perhaps, the apartments were lighted not unlike those mentioned

^a Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. on John ii. 1.

^b Matt. xxii. 11.

^c Ecclus. xxxi. 1, 2. John ii. 8, 9.

^d John iii. 39.

^e Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. on John ii. 1.

^f Judges xiv. 20. xv. 2.

^g Lightf. Harm. Four Evang. part iii. § 14.

^h Jer. xxxiii. 11. Ch. vii. 34. xvi. 9. xxv. 10, 11.

ⁱ Russell's Aleppo, vol. ii. p. 48.

by Chardin, when he tells us, that "they have commonly two large wax tapers, held by near relations, about the height of a man, in the apartment of the bridegroom, and one in the apartment of the bride."—When the bridegroom retired, he spread his skirt over the bride, to testify the claim which the law had given him, and sought for those signs which the Mosaic code required in such cases.* To us such procedure would appear highly indelicate; but it is perfectly conformable with the manners of the East. Thus d'Arvieux tells us, that the bridegroom and bride being brought, in ceremony, to the place of marriage, the men and women sit down to table in different huts, where the marriage feast is celebrated; that in the evening the bride is twice presented to the bridegroom; that the third time he carries her into the tent where the marriage is to be consummated; and that after the consummation, the bridegroom returns to his friends, whom he had left feasting together, with such a proof of the virginity of his bride, as Moses supposed the Jews were wont to preserve with care, that in case the honour of their daughters should afterwards be aspersed, they might be freed from the reproach; which being shown, the bridegroom is complimented afresh, and passes the rest of the night in rejoicing."† Dr. Russell‡ says, "the tokens of virginity are expected by all sects in that country, but more indecently exposed by the Turks than any other." And Savary,§ when speaking of the marriages of the Egyptians, says, "If they appear not, the husband has a right to return her to her parents, which is accounted the greatest disgrace that can happen to a family."—I

* Deut. xxii. 13. 17.

† Harmer's Outlines of Solomon's Song, p. 11.

‡ Natural History of Aleppo, p. 113. note.

§ Letters on Egypt, vol. iii. p. 38.

* See the same thing in Park's Travels in Africa, chap 20.

ought next to remark, that the marriage feast lasted, in the case of young persons, for eight days,^a and that the bride retained the appellation for thirty days, after the ceremony;^b but that in the case of a widow or a widower, the marriage feast lasted only three days;^c that it was the custom for the father to give his daughter, when leaving his house, a female slave as a companion, as Laban did to each of his daughters; and hence Solomon accounts those extremely poor who had none,^d and that marrying a wife exempted the husband from military service for a year,^e a law which was founded on policy, and favourable to matrimony, and which, it is rather remarkable, was afterwards practised by Alexander the Great, in his expedition against Persia; for after the battle of the Granicus, and “before he went into winter quarters, he ordered all of his army, who had married that year, to return to Macedonia, and spend the winter with their wives, appointing three captains over them to lead them home, and bring them back at the time appointed.”^f A large family, in ancient times, was accounted a blessing.^g Hence Jair is spoken of with his thirty sons.^h Abdon had forty sons.ⁱ Nineteen of David’s sons are mentioned,^k besides those he had by his concubines. Rehoboam had twenty-eight sons and sixty daughters,^l and Abijah twenty-two sons and sixteen daughters.^m Nor was this desire peculiar to the Jews, for the poets in praise of Priam mention his fifty sons. Indeed perpetual virginity, at that time, was little known, and looked upon in the same light as sterility; and the women who died unmarried were reckoned unfortunate.

^a Gen. xxix. 27. Tobit ii. 19.

^b Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Matt. ix. 15.

^c Buxtorff, Synag. Jud. cap. 39.

^d Prov. xii. 9.

^e Deut. xxiv. 5.

^f Arrian, Lib. i.

^g Prov. xvii. 6.

^h Judg. x. 4.

ⁱ Judg. xii. 14.

^k 1 Chron. iii. 1, &c.

^l 2 Chron. xi. 21.

^m 2 Chron. xiii. 21.

Electra and Iphigenia, in Sophocles, bemoan themselves on that account, and this was the occasion of the repining of Jephtha's daughter.^a Hence, also, barrenness became a reproach to married women, as we see by Samuel's mother and many others.^c It was considered by the Jews as a curse, and the most pleasing expression of good will to persons in wedlock was, that they might be the parents of many children. The greatest number of husbands that we hear of any wife among them having had, is the case in the gospel, of the woman that had seven husbands;^b and the case of Sara, Raguel's daughter, who had eight.^e The reason why they had so many, is specifically mentioned in their several histories.

It will be recollected that the ancient Jews had often more wives than one, and hence the distinction which we meet with in Scripture, between the wife and the concubine. This last term, however, among the Hebrews, did not imply any thing immoral or reproachful; for Keturah, whom Abraham took for his אִשָּׁה *Ashè*; or wife, in Gen. xxv. 1, is, in verse 6th, mentioned as one of his פִּלְנֶשִׁים *Pilneshim*, or concubines;^d Hagar, whom he took in Sarah's lifetime, being the other, and who is expressly styled his אִשָּׁה *Ashè*, or wife, in Gen. xvi. 3. So Bilhah, who is called Jacob's concubine in Gen. xxxv. 22, was notwithstanding his wife in Gen. xxx. 4; and both she and Zilpah are called his wives in Gen. xxxvii. 2. How, then, it may be asked, did a man's concubine differ from his wife? They differed in two things; 1st, She was not considered as the principal wife; and, 2dly, if we may judge from the early instances of Keturah and Hagar,^e the children of the con-

^a Judg. xi. 31.^b Matt. xxii. 25.^c Tobit iii. 8. vii. 8.^d Compare 1 Chron. i. 32.^e Gen. xxv. 5, 6.

cubine did not inherit. Indeed the same distinction prevails in the East to this day, for, by the Hindoo law, the children of concubines do not inherit. In whatever light, however, they were considered as to rank or inheritance, their fidelity to their husband was perfectly understood, and for any person to attempt to alienate their affections, or violate their persons, was accounted a heinous crime. Hence the atrocity of Reuben's conduct to Bilhah, his father's concubine,^a and of Absalom's, in going into his father's concubines.^b It is rather singular that the wife of Peleus^c gave the same advice to her son Phoenix that Ahitophel gave to Absalom, and with the same success. His peace of mind was ruined, and his conduct drew down the curse of his justly offended father. Even the whole nation of Israel revenged themselves on the Benjamites for countenancing the insulters of the Levite's concubine.^d Every one has heard of the vast number of wives and concubines in Solomon's haram, viz. 700 wives, princesses, and 300 pilneschim or concubines;^e but some modern eastern princes have far exceeded it. Thus sultan Selim had nearly 2000;^f Achmed, the eighth emperor of the Turks, had 3000;^g and Shah Hussein, emperor of Persia, had a still greater number, for "he ordered, in the year 1701, a search to be made through the whole extent of his dominions, for all the young virgins of distinguished beauty; and hence that year was called in Persia the year of virgins."^h It has been long debated whether polygamy be more favourable to population than monogamy; and it has been stated in its defence that

^a Gen. xxxv. 22. xlix. 4. ^b 2 Sam. xvi. 22. ^c Homer, *Iliad*. ix. 450, 455.

^d Judg. xix. 1.

^e 1 Kings xi. 3.

^f Habesci's Present State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 66.

^g Knolles, *Hist. of the Turks*, p. 1368.

^h Hanway's *Revolutions of Persia*, part 7. ch. 31.

Ahab had 70 sons in Samaria;^a that Priam, king of Troy, had 50 sons and 12 daughters;^b that Artaxerxes Mnemon, king of Persia, had three sons by his queen, and 115 by his concubines;^c and that Muley Abdallah, by his four wives and many hundred concubines, had 700 sons, able to mount a horse, independent of daughters:^d but, although these are singular instances of fecundity, they do not establish the general point, for the monopoly of individuals must ever occasion a scarcity on the whole, especially when it is recollected that the proportion between the sexes is only as 20 females to 21 males, because these last are more exposed to war and other accidents. Certain it is, that if polygamy be favourable to the indulgence of sensual desire, it is exceedingly prejudicial to the moral character: for the standard of mind is exceedingly low in those countries where it prevails; the female is degraded to be the slave of the male; the education of children is woefully neglected; endless jealousies must ever exist between persons dependent on the will of a master, and numberless attempts made at infidelity, where prior attachments must often interfere, and an unnatural monopoly is wished to be established.

Divorce was not known in the primitive ages, except in the case of adultery by either of the parties; and, under the law, Moses allowed of it on account of the hardness of their hearts:^e but by the time that our Saviour appeared it was very frequent, and for the slightest reasons, thereby arguing a laxity of principle, and evidently leading to profligacy of conduct. The following is the copy of a bill of divorce as taken from Lightfoot:^f

^a 2 Kings x. 1.

^c Justin, Lib. x. cap. 1.

^e Matt. v. 19.

^b Homer, *Iliad* vi. lin. 244, &c.

^d Stewart's *Journey to Mequinez*.

^f Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Matt. v. 31.

“ On the day of the week N, of the month N, of the year of the world’s creation N, according to the computation by which we are wont to reckon, in the province of N, I, A. B., the son of A. B., and by what name soever I am called, of the city of N, with the greatest consent of my mind, and without any compulsion urging me, have put away, dismissed, and expelled thee; thee, I say, C. D., the daughter of C. D., by what name soever thou art called, of the city of N, who heretofore wert my wife; but now I have dismissed thee; thee, I say, C. D., the daughter of C. D., by what name soever thou art called, of the city of N, so that thou art free, and in thine own power to marry whosoever shall please thee; and let no man hinder thee from this day forward, even for ever. Thou art free, therefore, for any man, and let this be to thee a bill of rejection from me, letters of divorce, and a schedule of expulsion, according to the law of Moses and of Israel.

REUBEN, the son of Jacob, witness.

ELEAZER, the son of Gilead, witness.

We have a copy of a bill of the same kind in Buxtorff,^a and nearly in the same words; it is therefore needless to transcribe it, but I may add the several formalities with which it was delivered. Bills of divorce were given either privately or publicly. When given privately, the bill was sealed with the husband’s seal, and was delivered before two witnesses into the hand of the wife, either by himself or by some person deputed by him, or the wife might depute some person to receive it; and when dismissed she might, if she pleased, carry the bill to the sanhedrin to be enrolled for preservation, as an evidence of the transaction.^b But when the di-

^a Synag. Judaic. cap. 40.

^b Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Matt. v. 31.

vorce was public, the steps were more numerous ; for they chose first some private place to which the Rabbi, who conducted the business, resorted, together with two other Rabbins, called at the expense of the pursuer as arbiters, the scribe who wrote the bill, and two witnesses, who saw it written, and were to witness the delivery. If these were satisfied that there were legal grounds for divorce, then they, together with the husband and wife, went to the door of the synagogue, where, after morning prayers, the presiding Rabbi thus addressed the husband : Art thou N. about to deliver this bill of divorce of thy own free will ?—Yes.—Perhaps thou hast bound thyself by some oath or vow to give it her ?—No.—If thou art bound by any oath, vow, or anathema, I absolve thee.—I never made any thing of the kind.—Perhaps thou hast received something for this libel : if it repent thee, revoke it, and I will find a remedy.—I received nothing. I do not repent.—Didst thou ever say any thing which might affect this libel, and render it void ? No.—After these questions, the presiding Rabbi, having read the bill, turned to the scribe who wrote it, and said, Thou scribe, didst thou write this writing ?—Yes.—Didst thou write it at the instance of the husband and the wife ?—Yes.—Did the husband say this to thee before witnesses ?—Yes.—Dost thou acknowledge this to be the same copy that was written by thee ?—Yes.—Then, turning to the two witnesses, he asked each of them, separately, concerning their signatures, which things being done, he turned to the wife and asked her, if she would accept the bill of divorce willingly ? To which, if she assented, he then desired her to stretch out her hands, he himself delivering the writing to the husband, in order to be given to her, in the following words : “ Behold the bill of thy divorce. Receive this bill of thy divorce. By this be

thou divorced from me, and free to give thyself to any other." The witnesses before-mentioned were desired to notice particularly this part of the transaction, that if there should be occasion they might give their evidence: the writing was again delivered to the Rabbi, who read it aloud in the hearing of the people who had come out of the synagogue, and he then addressed them in the following words: "Behold Rabbi M. and Rabbi N. (meaning the two arbiters) and the others, who are citizens of N., have discerned, under the pain of anathema, and I also discern, that none henceforth come forward to object to this bill of divorce, unless it be at present, when they may come forth and declare." If none objected, the judgment was final, and the Rabbi who presided gave the libel a tear in the form of a cross, which was called "the rent of the house of judgment;" kept it in his possession for the divorced wife's interest; enjoined her not to marry for three months, that it might be seen whether she was with child, and then dismissed the parties.*

Such was the divorce when the husband was the complainant; but the wife might sue as well as the husband, if she thought herself aggrieved, and especially if she disliked the person to whom she had been espoused at an early age by her parents. The following is a copy of the writing used in her case, as given by Maimonides: "In the day N, of the week N, of the year N, A. B., the daughter of C. D., came before us and said, My mother or my brethren deceived me, and wedded me, or betrothed me, when I was a young maid, to E. F.; the son of E. F.; but I now reveal my mind before you, that I will not have him, so that he is free, and in his own power to marry whosoever shall please him," &c.

Signed as the former bill of divorce.

* Buxtorff, Synag. Judaic. cap. 40.

Josephus furnishes us with three instances of divorce by wives, which proceeded from less honourable motives than those above-mentioned. The first is that of Salomè, the sister of Herod, who, having quarrelled with Costobarus her husband, sent him a bill of divorce.^a The second is that of Herodias, who, after she had a daughter by her husband, Herod Philip, divorced herself from him, that she might marry his half brother, Herod Antipas, the tetrarch of Galilee.^b And the third is that of Drusilla, the sister of Agrippa, who gave a bill of divorce to her husband Azizus, king of Emesa, that she might marry Felix, the procurator of Judea.^c In these, ambition was the ruling principle; and before it the love of husband and children, a sense of character, and regard for religion, were weak and unavailing.

The only other circumstance connected with the Jewish forms of marriage, is that which regards the brother's widow, and is known by the name of *Jus Leviratus*, the law concerning which is given in Deut. xxv. 5—10, and enjoins the brother of the deceased to take his widow, and rear up seed unto his brother, to perpetuate his name and heir his effects; an instance of which we have in Matt. xxii. 25. It is evident, however, from the case of Ruth iii. 12, 13. iv. 5, 10, that the law extended farther than the husband's brother, namely, to such kinsman as had the right of redemption. And it is also plain, from Gen. xxxviii. 8, that the custom of marrying the deceased brother's wife was far more ancient than the Mosaic law. It was under that law, however, that it became doubly binding, for it connected the love of preserving a brother's name with the preservation of property in the several families and several tribes. The name given to it by the Jews was **יבום** *Ibum*, or "the husband's

^a Antiq. xv. 7.

^b Antiq. xviii. 5.

^c Antiq. xx. 7.

brother;" and it required no betrothing, for he acquired his sister-in-law by a divine right; neither were there any ceremonies as at ordinary marriages, only all the effects of the deceased were delivered up to him, and all his claims, for the behoof of the child who should be accounted his heir; yet she was allowed to marry none till three months after her husband's death, that it might appear to all that there was no child.—Such was the practice in ancient times, but it ~~is~~ not now insisted on; that is to say, they go through the form, but they do not oblige the surviving brother to marry the widow. The practice of the Jews, in Buxtorff's time, was as follows; On the preceding evening, after evening prayers at the synagogue, one of the Rabbins was chosen to preside, and two others to assist him as judges. Next morning, after prayers, these with the levir, the widow, and two witnesses, met at a certain place, and the presiding Rabbi asked whether the husband had been dead three months? Whether she was the wife of the levir's brother? Whether the deceased and he were of the same father? And whether the widow had reached her twelfth year? On all which being satisfied, he proceeded to ask whether the levir was willing to marry her, or wished to be separated? Whether he acted willingly or by constraint? And being also satisfied as to these, especially as to the brother's refusal to comply with the law—he commanded the widow to keep the spittle in her mouth till farther orders. A shoe was then brought; it was put upon the right foot of the levir; the woman stepped forward and repeated the following words: "My levir refuses to raise up the name of his brother in Israel. He does not choose to wed me according to the law of the levir;" and the levir assented to her accusation, which being done, she loosed with her own right hand the thong of the shoe; pulled it from his foot, and cast it to

the ground, at the same time (not spitting in his face,) but spitting on the ground before his face, she distinctly repeated three times the following words: "So shall it be done to the man who does not wish to build up the house of his brother, and his name shall be called in Israel—the house of him that hath his shoe loosed;" after which the judges and spectators all repeated, "The shoe is loosed." The judge then asked the shoe to be kept as an evidence of the transaction; the widow received a writing from the judge to the same effect, a copy of which is given by Maimonides, and the parties were dismissed.* It is somewhat remarkable that the Athenians appear to have adopted the spirit of this law of the levir; for "no heiress could marry out of her kindred, but resigned up herself and her fortune to her nearest relation, who was obliged to marry her;"^b and among the modern eastern nations we still meet with the law or custom of marrying the brother's widow. Thus Olearius^c informs us, concerning the Circassians, that, "when a man dies without issue, his brother is obliged to marry the widow, to raise up seed to him." The Hon. Mr. Elphinstone^d says, that among the Afghauns, as among the Jews, it is thought incumbent on the brother of the deceased to marry his widow; and it is a mortal affront to the brother for any other person to marry her without his consent. The widow, however, is not compelled to take a husband against her will." M. Volney, in his *Travels into Syria*, tom. ii. p. 74, observes, that "the Druzes retain, to a certain degree, the custom of the Hebrews, which directed a man to marry his brother's widow; but this is not peculiar to

* Buxtorff, *Synag. Judaic.* cap. 41, 42. Basnage, *Relig. of the Jews*, book v. chap. 19.

^b Terent. *Phormio*, Act 1, Scen. 2; and Potter's *Grecian Antiq.* vol. i. p. 159.

^c *Travels into Persia*, p. 417.

^d *History of Cabul*, book ii. chap. 3.

them, for they have this, as well as many other customs of that ancient people, in common with the inhabitants of Syria, and with the Arabians in general." But Neibuhr* says, "It does, indeed, happen among the Mahometans that a man marries his brother's widow, but she has no right to compel him so to do." So far, then, respecting the levirate.

One cannot survey the Jewish espousals, marriages, and divorce, without reflecting on the frequent political and spiritual allusions that are made to them in Scripture. Thus Israel is said to have been married to the Lord, Is. lxii. 4, 5. liv. 5. Committing idolatry, by following after the gods of the heathen, was considered as adultery, and a breach of the covenant between God and Israel, Jer. iii. 6—9. God's reproofs to them for their infidelity were sharpened by the recollection of their marriage relation with him, Jer. ii. 2, 3. iii. 14. The state of believers, in this world, is compared, by the apostle Paul, to the time that elapsed between the betrothing and the marriage in 2 Cor. xi. 2. And heaven is spoken of as the place where the marriage is to be celebrated, and where the saints shall be happy with Christ for ever, Rev. xix. 7. xxi. 2—4. Such are the allusions to the forms of marriage among the Jews; and, perhaps, even the law of the levirate, although not so applied by the inspired writers, may serve to excite in the breast of the pious a hymn of gratitude to that elder brother who, on the moral death of our progenitor, espoused the church, and obtained for himself a glorious name.

* Description of Arabia, p. 61.

SECT. III.

Children of the Jews.

Reasons why so much desired : ceremonies at the birth : circumcision ; the persons present ; their different offices ; prayers on the occasion. Circumcision of sick children deferred for a time. Children dying before the eighth day, how disposed of ; a feast commonly after circumcision. The case of bastards and daughters ; origin and uses of circumcision. Probable reasons for fixing on the eighth day. Why it was omitted in the wilderness. Treatment of children while minors as to food, clothing, &c. ; children much attached to their mother ; and why ; singular manner of carrying them. The nature of their education. The degree they acquired at the age of thirteen ; could choose their tutors at fourteen ; the solemn ceremony then used ; different ages at which they could marry, and attend the passover. The birthright of the eldest ; in what it consisted. Parkhurst's reflection on it.

CHILDREN were much coveted by the Jews, both from that desire of offspring which is natural to man, and the peculiar circumstances of the Jewish nation ; for the inheritances in the tribes depended on it, and the family of David in particular was promised the honour of being the progenitor of the Messiah. Hence the anxiety of the Jewish matrons for a numerous offspring. It multiplied their chances for being the mother of our Lord.

1. *Treatment at the birth.* We are strangers to most of the domestic regulations of the ancient Jews ; but Buxtorff^a informs us, that after the days of our Saviour, it was the custom for the father of the family, or some person eminent for piety, at the hour of delivery, to write above the door, around the inside of the walls of the apartment, and on the bed, words to the following import : " Adam, Eve, but begone Lilith ;" the meaning of which is explained by them to be, " If a son, may he live till he marry a wife like Eve, or, if a daughter, may she live till she marry a husband like

^a De Synag. Jud. cap. 4.

Adam ; but may neither be unequally yoked," as they pretend Adam was with Lilith before he got Eve. Were I to form a conjecture, I would rather say that it meant, "May he, if a son, be healthy like Adam, and if a daughter, beautiful like Eve ; but, whatever it be, may it not be consigned to darkness, (as Lilith signifies) by an untimely death." A Christian midwife was expressly forbidden, lest she might injure the mother or child. And a Rabbi, or some other person skilled in the law, read the 20th, 38th, 91st, or 102d Psalm, which he concluded with a prayer, entreating of God a happy delivery. If the child chanced to be a son, they made great rejoicings ; but a daughter was received with gratitude, but not with exultation. Infants newly born were washed in water, anointed with oil, rubbed with salt, at least in part, swaddled with a long bandage round the middle, and wrapped in some comfortable clothing.^a These were requisite even in a mild latitude, to promote insensible perspiration, and prevent the pain which a free exposure to the external air occasions ; for the cries of new-born children are understood to be occasioned, partly by the new course which the blood forces for itself through the lungs, and partly by the pressure and difference of temperature in the new atmosphere.

2. *Circumcision of.*—On the eighth day from the birth, whatever day of the week that was, they invariably performed the rite of circumcision. Three stools were set in the house, or sometimes in the synagogue ; one for the person who held the child ; one for the operator, whose official name was *mûl*, or the cutter off ; and one for Elias, who was supposed to be spiritually present as a zealous defender of the divine law.^b The

^a Ezek. xvi. 4, 9.

^b Lightf. Harm. of Four Evang. part ii. sect. 12.

attendants were commonly ten in number, some of which carried torches of twelve wicks, to represent the twelve tribes of Israel, and others a knife for the operation, a cup of red wine to act as a styptic, a basin of sand, into which to throw the prepucce, a basin of olive oil to anoint the part, and a towel and water. When every thing was ready, the female employed by the mother brought the child to the door of the apartment or synagogue, and gave it to him who was appointed to hold it during the operation, who, on entering, was hailed by the company in the following words: "Blessed be he who comes." When the operation was finished, the operator said, "Blessed be the Lord our God, who has sanctified us by his precepts, and given us the law of circumcision." To which the father replied, "Who hath sanctified us by his precepts, and hath commanded us to enter the child into the covenant of Abraham our father;" and the bystanders added, "As thou hast made this child enter, as thou hast received him into the covenant of Abraham our father, cause also that he may enter into the law of Moses, into matrimony, and into good works." The operator having washed, received a cup of wine, consecrated it with the usual benediction, and added for the child the following prayer: "O Lord our God, the God of our fathers, strengthen this child, and preserve him to his parents. May his name be among the people of Israel, (here he, or the father, or mother, or neighbours, gave him his name, Ruth iv. 17. 1 Sam. iv. 21. Luke i. 59.) Let his father, who begot him, rejoice and be glad; let his mother delight in the fruit of her womb, according as it is written,* 'Thy father and thy mother shall be glad, and she that bare thee shall rejoice.' And as it is said by the pro-

* Prov. xxiii. 25.

phet,^a ‘And when I passed by thee, and saw thee polluted in thine own blood, I said unto thee, when thou wast in thy blood, Live; yea, I said unto thee, when thou wast in thy blood, Live.’” Here he dipped his finger in the basin where the blood was, and touched the child’s face two or three times, with the hope that, according to the prophet, he might live so much longer in the blood of circumcision; adding, “David also says,^b ‘He hath remembered his covenant for ever, his word which he commanded to a thousand generations.’” He then prayed to God that all might be safe who confirmed the covenant, and wished long life to the parents and the child; after which a cup of wine was given to all present, and the child conveyed to his mother.^c Basnage^d adds several other circumstances, which evidently show that they differ somewhat in different countries. It has been said that the name was commonly given to the child on the eighth day: it was not always, however, given then, for it was sometimes imposed at the birth, as in the case of Ruth^e and Phinehas’s wife;^f and Homer tells us that the birth was the customary time amongst the Gentiles of giving names to their children;^g accordingly Arnæus was so named by his mother.^h Children that were sick were not circumcised on the eighth day, but the rite was deferred till seven days after their recovery: and if one or two children of a family died in consequence of the operation, they deferred the circumcision of the third till he came of age, that he might take the responsibility on himself. Children dying before the eighth day were circumcised in the cemetery, on the lid of the coffin, and names given them, that they might be known at the resurrection of the just; but no

^a Ezek. xvi. 6.^b Ps. cv. 8.^c Buxtorff, Synag. Jud. cap. 4.^d History and Religion of the Jews, book v. ch. 8.^e Ch. iv. 17.^f 1 Sam iv. 21.^g Odyss. viii. 550—554.^h Odyss. xviii. 5, 6.

prayers were offered on the occasion.* Whether the rite had been performed at home or in the synagogue, there was commonly prepared a feast for ten at the least, that is, for those who assisted, and for any others whom the parents chose, when a blessing was asked over the victuals, a suitable discourse delivered; and the feast concluded with much hilarity. Bastards, and children born in adultery, were circumcised, but with the omission of a part of the usual ceremonies, and never in the synagogue. In the case of daughters there were few rejoicing and ceremonies. The minister of the synagogue, a month after the birth, pronounced a benediction on the infant either at home or in the synagogue, and gave her her name.

Various conjectures have been formed as to the origin and uses of this singular rite of the Jewish church. The common opinion is, that circumcision was never known till it was appointed by God to Abraham: but Spencer^b is disposed rather to conclude that Abraham had it posterior to the Egyptians, and that God only applied it in his case to a new purpose. It appears more natural, however, to suppose that the Egyptians derived it from the Jews or Ishmaelites, although we cannot explain the way in which it obtained a footing among them; for little dependence can be placed on their historical records, which are thousands of years later than those of Moses; and Sir John Marsham has shown that several of their traditions are evidently the result of national vanity. The uses of circumcision were various:—it was the initiatory sign of the covenant of peculiarity, by which they became God's peculiar people; it bound them to the observance of the whole law, moral, cere-

* Buxtorff. *Synag. Jud.* cap. 4.

^b *De Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus*, Lib. i. cap. 5.

monial, and judicial; it distinguished proselytes of righteousness from those of the gate, and was a sign of the circumcision of the heart, or the putting away the filth of the flesh.^a—But if it was a sign, so was it also a seal: for it sealed the veracity of the divine promise as to a numerous offspring, and the land of Canaan; it sealed their own solemn determination to live as God's peculiar people; and was a seal of the righteousness of faith. Should it be inquired why God appointed the 8th day for the stated observance of the Jewish rite, I answer 1st, That wounds in children are less dangerous than in persons farther advanced, when the humours become more gross, and the passions have more influence. 2d, That it was proper to fix on a certain given day, to prevent delay, or ultimate neglect. It would seem that God foresaw this, since he threatened the contemners of his law with death. And 3d, By delaying it till the 8th day, it was an evident token that he did not consider the observance of it essential to salvation, since so many children die before that time. Spencer thinks that the reason why circumcision was not observed in the wilderness, was because they had enough besides to distinguish them then as the people of God: but when they reached the borders of Canaan, and that peculiar state of things was about to cease, they were then ordered to renew the rite.^b

3. *Treatment in youth, while minors.* When circumstances admit, mothers are certainly the best nurses of their children; and in Judea the practice seems to have been general; their manners, and the state of society, rendering that a pleasure, which in a more polished and thoughtless age, has been counted an in-

^a Lev. xxvi. 41. Deut. xxx. 6. Jer. iv. 4. ix. 26. Ezek. xliv. 7. Acts vii. 51. Rom. ii. 29, 30. Col. ii. 11.

^b De Leg. Heb. Rit. Lib. i. cap. 5. § 1.

cumbrance. Hence we find but three nurses mentioned in Scripture: viz. Rebekah's,^a Mephibosheth's,^b and she who nursed Joash, king of Judah.^c As to the length of time employed in giving suck, it is not particularly mentioned. Several authors have protracted it to three years:^d but this is certainly against nature, which teaches that the quality of the nourishment is deteriorated before that time, and it can only be dictated by necessity, or when a multitude of children are considered a burden. A Jewish child was forbidden to be given to one of a different religion to nurse, lest it might acquire an attachment to heathenism, or Christianity: and Jewish mothers were forbidden to fast, or neglect their persons, lest they might injure the health of their children. As for the redemption of the first-born, that was particularly treated of in the section which enumerates the funds for the support of the priesthood.—But I may add, that, at the weaning of children, there was commonly a feast, in token of gratitude, at which the family and neighbours made merry.

In countries where polygamy prevails, children are always more attached to the mother than to the father. She forms the centre round which they revolve, and by which they are attracted. Hence, an insult to a mother is the grossest insult: and, to prevent confusion, the children are often named by their mother, to distinguish them from the children by the other wives. Thus, Abisha, Joab, and Asahel, are called the sons of Zeruah, David's sister:^e and the names of the mothers of the kings are mentioned for the same reason. Their manner of carrying children in the East is rather singular: for though in infancy they are sometimes carried in the

^a Gen. xxiv. 59.

^b 2 Sam. iv. 4.

^c 2 Kings xi. 2.

^d 2 Maccab. vii. 27. Park's Travels, ch. xx.

^e 1 Chron. ii. 15, 16. 2 Sam. xvi. 10.

arms, and those who cannot support themselves are carried on the shoulder,^a yet Sir John Chardin tells us, that “it is the general custom in the East to carry them astride upon the hip, with the arms round the body.”^b Hence Isaiah,^c when prophesying of the happiness of the Gentiles under the gospel, says, “then shall ye suck; ye shall be borne upon her sides, and be dandled on her knees.” Children were enjoined by the traditions to have their heads covered, of whatever sex, till the age of thirteen, after which girls continued covered, but boys went with the head bare and the feet covered. When they could speak distinctly, they were taught by their parents, as their natural instructors, select sentences from the law, such as Deut. vi. 4. xxxiii. 4, and were enjoined to refrain from associating with those of a different religion. At a proper age, they were sent to school: but we know very little of the nature of these institutions. The elements of knowledge, at that time, must have been very limited. Printing had not then lent her aid, to multiply books; nor had the Arabic figures simplified arithmetical calculations. It is probable, therefore, that the reading of the Scriptures, either in whole, or in part, from a written copy in the school; the writing of them either on the leaf of a tree, vellum, or sand; the getting by heart some select portions; and a very simple notation by the letters of the alphabet, used as figures, were all that children were commonly taught. But whether their reading was with or without the points, I shall not take upon me to determine. Those who wish for farther information, may consult Drs. Robertson’s and Wilson’s Hebrew Grammars. At the age of thirteen, they commonly acquired a new degree, indicative

^a Russell’s Aleppo, vol. i. p. 441.

^b Lowth on Is. lx. 4. note.

^c Isaiah lxi. 12.

both of their progress in learning, and their moral character. They were then called "the sons of the commandment," because thenceforth bound to observe the law, and allowed to study the Mishna and Talmud. At the beginning of their fourteenth year, they were capable of choosing their own tutors, and of acting legally in the disposal of property. But as this was an important season, it was usually attended with the following formalities: The father called ten men of respectability, told them the age and proficiency of his son, and his anxious desire to be henceforth freed from all responsibility. He then, in their presence, and that of his son, offered up a prayer to God, expressive of his thanks that he was freed from the burden of his son's education, and his earnest desire that his son might reach a good old age, full of faith and good works. This rite was surely far more impressive than that used by the Romans, at the assumption of the toga virilis, and addressed to nobler principles—the principle of gratitude, and the love of piety. When fifteen years, they were taught to dispute on questions in the Gemara, but seldom read in the prophets, which may account for their ignorance of the Messiah. At eighteen the men could marry, and the women when they were twelve and a day; till which time they were called little maids: but that very day, they became young women. At twenty complete, the young men were their own masters, and could do every thing on their own account.* Hitherto I have said nothing about their teaching their children a trade; but this was universally the case, whatever their rank or condition might be, that, in a reverse of circumstances, they might be able to earn a livelihood. Thus our Saviour was a carpenter; several of the apostles

* Buxtorff, *Synag. Jud.* cap. 4.

were fishermen ; Paul was a tent maker. Some of the eminently wise men of Israel had been cutters of wood. Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai, vice-president of the Sanhedrin, was a merchant : and the following extract from the Talmud will show that the practice was general : "What is a father commanded to do to his son? To circumcise him ; to redeem him ; to teach him the law ; to teach him a trade ; and to take him a wife. Rabbi Judah saith, He that teacheth not his son a trade, does as if he taught him to be a thief. And Rabban Gamaliel saith, He that hath a trade in his hand, is like a vineyard that is fenced."^a It is nowhere said, at what particular age they were admitted to the passover. The general rule on the subject was, when they could ascend Moriah with a hold of their father's hand ; and we know that our Saviour attended when only twelve years of age ; or, when he uncovered his head, and obtained the degree of "the son of the commandment." Perhaps this was as soon as was generally convenient, since many had to come from a considerable distance, and may afford us an argument for early communicating.

4. *Birthright of the eldest.* This consisted of the following particulars : 1. A double portion of the father's effects, which was particularly denoted by the term בכרה, *Becrè*, or "the first born,"^b and was founded in reason ; since the head and representative of the family needed somewhat considerable to lay the foundation of his future fortune and support his rank. 2. A pre-eminence or authority over his brethren,^c to supply the place of the common parent, when he should be no more ; for to him would they look, as the judge for settling internal differences, and the leader to redress external

^a Lightf. Harm. of N. T. Acts, ch. xviii.

^b 1 Chron. v. 1, 2, compared with Deut. xxi. 17.

^c Gen. xxvii. 29. xlix. 3, 4. 8.

wrongs. 3. The first born usually presided as the priest of the family, at the family sacrifices, before the appointment of the Levitical priesthood. And 4. To them was attached the illustrious promise of being the progenitor of the Messiah. It is true, that the descendants of the family of David had exclusively this honour, and that a cloud of uncertainty hung over the individual family who should ultimately be preferred; but this would create the greater interest: and if we were to suppose, that the heir in line to the crown actually became the supposed father, or real mother of our Lord, it would show us the vicissitudes of fortune, and to how low a state the once illustrious family of David had sunk.—I may add, in the words of Parkhurst, that, “the first born in the holy line, reckoning from the father, with their peculiar rights, were evident types of him who was to be the first born among many brethren,^a and in all things to have the pre-eminence.”^b

SECT. IV.

The Dress of the Jews.

1st. *Of the Men.* Hair black, worn short, except when in mourning. The weight of Absalom's hair considered. The beard worn long; razors; anointing with oil. The bonnet or covering for the head. The cethneth or tunic. The telith or coat; shelmé or hyke; girdle with its purse; cloak or mantle; shoes and sandals; phylacteries; scrip; staff.—2nd. *Of the Women.* Lower ranks very simple; higher very expensive. Plaiting the hair, elegant head-dresses, painting the eyes with alkahol; nose jewels; ear-rings; veil; necklaces and chains of gold; bracelets; nails stained with alhennah; shifts; zone round the breast; linen vests; gown, or upper robe; girdle about the middle; drawers; tinkling ornaments on the legs; sandals; travelling veils; cloaks or burnouses; perfume boxes; handkerchiefs; hand-mirrors; large wardrobes in families; fashionable colours; remarks.

^a Rom. viii. 29.

^b Col. i. 18.

1st. Of the Men.

THE *hair* of the Jews, like that of the eastern people in general, was almost universally black, so that an old man, with a white head among persons younger in years, resembled the almond tree, which is in full blossom in February, when all the others are dark and leafless. It was this circumstance which enraged Herod against his son Alexander, because an eunuch on the rack had said of him that he ridiculed his father, and asserted, "that in order to cover his great age, he coloured his hair black." The assertion was false, but it shows us the contrast between youth and old age, and the probability that there were some who endeavoured to conceal their age by this mean artifice.^a The hair of the men was anciently worn short, according to the apostles observations in 1 Cor. xi. 14, (on which see Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer.) but those who were effeminate wore it long,^b like Absalom, the weight of whose hair^c has puzzled many commentators; for it is said to have weighed 200 shekels at the time of each yearly cutting, which 200 shekels, at 9dwts. and 3 grains each, would be 7lbs. 7oz. and 5dwts. troy, an immense weight! But Michaelis^d makes the shekel only $92\frac{1}{2}$ grains, Paris weight, or $74\frac{1}{4}$ grains troy, so that the 200 shekels, according to him, would be 2lbs. 6oz. 19dwts. troy, which, after all, was a great weight of hair to be cut from any person's head yearly; and therefore Harmer, in his Observations,^e explains it in three ways, 1st, That the hair was loaded with trinkets like the ladies, which is no explanation, for according to this it might have been 2000 shekels, or 2dly, That the Hebrew numeral 7, which stands for 200, might have been mistaken for 7, which

^a Joseph. Antiq. xvi. 8.^b Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 3.^c 2 Sam. xiv. 26.^d Supplement to Heb. Lex. p. 367.^e Ch. xi. Ob. 51, Clarke's edition.

stands for 30, by the head of it being either faintly written or obliterated, in which case it would have weighed 13oz. 13dwts. 18grs. troy, according to Bishop Cumberland, and according to Michaelis, only 4oz. 13dwts. 23grs. troy, the first of which would have been accounted an extraordinary head of hair, but the last nothing uncommon, since a very good head is reckoned about 5oz. But should the integrity of the Hebrew text be maintained, he has a 3d solution, viz. That the word "to poll" means literally "to shave," as mourners shaved their heads, like Job,^a or as those who had been in a state of distress, when they presented themselves to the king, like Joseph.^b If, then, by "the end of the days," which is the original expression, we were to understand not "the end of the year," but the end of the time that Absalom remained at his own house without seeing the king's face, which was two years, the shaving of his head would express a single action, viz. the preparing himself to appear before the king. Should it be objected that the difficulty remains unremoved, since it is said that he polled his hair "because it was heavy," it may be answered, that the word translated "heavy" also means "honour," and, as such, is rendered in Prov. xxvi. 1. The whole, therefore, of the verse, according to Harmer, may be thus translated: "And when he shaved his head, for it was at the end of the days (of his disgrace with the king) that he shaved it, because it was an honour to him (to see the king's face,) therefore he shaved it, and he weighed the hair of his head at 200 shekels, after the king's weight."—But it may be urged against this interpretation, that the 200 shekels were uncommonly great, as the growth even of two years. I shall therefore endeavour to remove the difficulty a little

^a Ch. i. 20.

^b Gen. xli. 14.

by observing, that it was the custom for the young men, in ancient times, to wear their hair till they came of age, and then to cut it, and devote it to some deity. Might not the Jews have had such a custom, but without its idolatry? And might not the words in question refer to that time? Should this supposition be admitted, the cutting of Absalom's hair, mentioned by the historian, will neither allude to a yearly cutting, on account of its weight, nor to a cutting after two years, when about to enter the king's presence; but to the specific time when he arrived at manhood and assumed the toga virilis, which, among the Jews, was when 20 complete. In this point of view, the words will bear the following meaning: "And when he polled his head, for it was at the end of the days (of his minority) that he polled it, because it was an honour to him (to leave the youth to be numbered with the men,) therefore he polled it; and he weighed the hair of his head at 200 shekels, after the king's weight." The singularity, according to this interpretation, did not lie in his cutting his hair, for it was a common practice on arriving at manhood, but in the largeness of the quantity on the occasion. He excelled every one in the beauty of his person, and in the abundance and length of his hair.—This interpretation does not militate against his having long hair at the time of his death; for his rebellion did not happen till he was forty years of age,^a and, consequently, when the hair of this effeminate and imprudent man had sufficient time to grow.

Should the above solution of Absalom's hair having been cut on his arrival at manhood be looked upon as probable, it will explain to us, with more than ordinary force, the spouse's description of her beloved,^b as de-

^a 2 Sam. xv. 7.

^b Cant. v. 11—16.

scriptive of one under majority, since, in the East, they marry uncommonly young. "My beloved is white and ruddy, the chiefest among ten thousand; his head is as the most fine gold; his locks are bushy, and black as a raven." In short, she continues, in glowing language, to give a natural description of one whose youthful charms had won her heart, who was approaching majority, but had not yet submitted to the virile tonsure. So much then, as to the hair of the Jews. It was, like that of the other eastern nations, generally of a dark colour, hanging in long ringlets, till their arrival at manhood, and worn short through the rest of life; the only exceptions to which rule were those who affected effeminacy, and those whom Josephus describes as driving the chariots of king Solomon, who were "young men in the most delightful flower of their age, and eminent for their stature, being far taller than other men. These had very long hair hanging down, and were clothed in garments of Tyrian purple. They had also dust of gold every day sprinkled on their hair (like Euphorbus the Trojan, in Homer's *Iliad*, xvii. 52,) so that their heads sparkled with the reflection of the sunbeams from the gold."^a It is probable that all this is imaginary as to Solomon's charioteers; but Josephus would certainly describe them in consistency with the costume of the Jews. But if the hair of the head was worn short, it was the honour of the *beard* to be long and thick. Indeed this mark of virility was held by them in the highest veneration, whilst an insult to the beard was reckoned unpardonable. Thus Joab took Amasa by the beard to kiss him,^b for when particular friends met they embraced each other, and kissed the beard. And Hanun, king of the Ammonites, by cutting off the beards of David's

^a Antiq. viii. 7.^b 2 Sam. xx. 9.

ambassadors, was guilty of the greatest insult.^a Neibuhr^b gives a modern instance of the same kind of insult. This respect for the beard was not peculiar, however, to the Jews, but was common to all the eastern nations. Thus in the Iliad, when Thetis supplicates Jupiter, she is represented as taking him by the beard with her right hand,^c and Dolon the beard of Diomed.^d Pliny mentions it as the general custom of the Greeks to touch the beard of those they supplicated;^e and Herodotus gives us to understand that it was the custom of all nations, except the Egyptians.^f At Rome the beard was held in great honour, and, in modern times, every nation in the East is extremely partial to this venerable incumbrance. Thus Thevenot, among many others, tells us, that “The Turks greatly esteem a man who has a fine beard; that it is a great affront to take a man by his beard, unless to kiss it; and that they swear by the beard.”^g Chateaubriand mentions the same thing,^h and d’Arvieux gives a remarkable instance of an Arab, who, having suffered a wound in his jaw, chose to hazard his life, rather than suffer the surgeon to remove it.”ⁱ In the Scriptures we find razors mentioned, with which they trimmed their beards, and shaved certain parts of their heads in much the same manner, perhaps, that the natives of the East do at this day, who shave all except one lock; for the anointing the hair of the head and beard with oil, and trimming and combing them makes an essential part of their daily dress, whilst neglecting them is considered as expressive of sorrow. The use of oil, as an article of dress, was as ancient as the days of Moses, who anointed Aaron and the other priests with oil of a

^a 2 Sam. x. 4, 5.

^b Voy. L’Arabie, p. 275.

^c Iliad i. 501.

^d Iliad x. 454.

^e Hist. Nat. Lib. ii. cap. 35.

^f Lib. ii. cap. 36.

^g Tom. i. p. 57.

^h Travels, vol. ii. p. 94.

ⁱ Tom. ii. p. 214.

particular kind,^a and mentions it as a common part of dress in Deut. xxviii. 40. Hence Solomon says in Prov. xxvii. 9, that "ointment and perfume rejoice the heart." Hasselquist tells us,^b that the odoriferous oils now in use in Judea and its neighbourhood, are made by steeping the flowers of tuberose, jessamine, narcissus, &c. in oil: but the ointment which was poured on the head and feet of Jesus was of spikenard.^c In the land of Judea a covering for the head was indispensable, and accordingly bonnets or turbans, plain and ornamented, are mentioned in Scripture; the one as the dress of the common ranks, and the other of the rich. Indeed bonnets or turbans are the common covering over all the East, so that Dr. Shaw's description of this part of dress may, perhaps, not have been far from what was used among the ancient Jews. "The Moors and Turks," says he, "in Barbary, with some of the principal Arabs, wear upon the head a small hemispherical cap of scarlet cloth. The turban, as they call a long narrow web of linen, silk, or muslin, is folded round the bottom of these caps, and very properly distinguishes, by the number and fashion of these folds, the several orders and degrees of soldiers, and sometimes of citizens, one from another."^d The word expressive of this kind of head-dress is frequently mentioned in Scripture, and in Ezekiel xxiii. 15, the web around the turbans of the Chaldeans was red or purple; but by being found in Job xxix. 14, it is a proof that it was in use so early as the days of that patriarch. So much, then, for the care which the Jews took of the head and beard. The first part of dress for their bodies was a *shirt*, which Lightfoot says was of wool. This, in the Talmudical writings, is called עמר זלוקל, *Heluk shel omer*, or a garment smooth, loose,

^a Exod. xxx. 31. ^b Page 288. ^c Mark xiv. 3. John xii. 3. ^d Page 226.

and collected round the body in a narrow compass, thereby intimating its fineness and pliancy.^a Dr. Shaw tells us that "the shirts of the Arabs are still of wool, but that in Palestine and Barbary those who are in easy circumstances have them of linen, cotton, or gauze, whilst the poor in these countries have no shirts at all."^b The 2d part of their dress for the body was the כְּתָנֶת *Cethneth*, or tunic, which resembled a vest with arms. The tunics which are worn at this day in the East are sometimes very beautiful. The summer tunics of the Arabs, who live near Judea, are often white, edged with blue, and bespangled with gold, somewhat like that alluded to in Cant. v. 14. But in spring and autumn, the vests of well dressed people are not unfrequently lined with short-haired furs, as sable, ermine, squirrel, &c. The 3d part of their dress for the body was the *coat*, or long robe of linen or cotton, called תְּלִית *Telith*, which signifies spotted like a young kid;^c and those who have seen the eastern dresses must have been struck with the beautiful calicoes which they wear. Lightfoot says the telith was made of sindon or linen, with woollen fringes, according to the injunction of the law in Deut. xxii. 12, and as noticed by our Saviour concerning the Pharisees in Matt. xxiii. 5, where he says, "they enlarged the borders of their garments." The common name for these fringes was צִיצִית *Tsitsith*, a word which signifies "flowers, or a flower-like fringe," and they were enjoined upon the Israelites, as we are told in Num. xv. 39, "that they might look upon them, and remember all the commandments of Jehováh, and do them."^d The modern Jews have left off these, and

^a Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. Luke ix. 3.

^b Page 228.

^c Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. Luke ix. 3.

^d Those who wish to see more about them, may consult Buxtorff, Synag. Jud. cap. 9.

conform to the customs of the countries where they reside; but they are said to preserve under their clothes a square piece of stuff, with four strings and fringes hanging at the corners, in place of the 'tsitsith.'^a The 4th part of their dress for the body was the שַׁלְמֵה *Shalmè*.^b It resembled the hyke of the Kabyles and Arabs in Africa and the Levant, and is thus described by Dr. Shaw: "These hykes, or blankets as we should call them, are of different sizes, and of different qualities and fineness. The usual size of them is six yards long, and five or six feet broad, serving the Kabyle and Arab as a complete dress in the day; and as they sleep in their raiment, as the Israelites did of old,^c it served likewise for his bed and covering by night. The plaid of the Highlander of Scotland is the very same."^d The Dr. says nothing particular about their manner of wearing it, except a reference to the ancient dress of Caledonia, but Bishop Pococke is more minute. "It is almost a general custom," says he, "among the Arabs and Mahomedan natives of Egypt to wear a large blanket, either white or brown, and in summer a blue and white cotton sheet: putting one corner before over the left shoulder, they bring it behind, and under the right arm, and so over their bodies, throwing it behind over the left shoulder, and so the right arm is left bare for action."^e The 5th part of dress for the body was the *girdle*,^f which consisting of a piece of cloth doubled, and sewed along the edges, was more convenient for carrying a quantity of money than a purse, because the money being distributed round the body, in the folds of the girdle, the weight of it was not so much felt.^g The

^a Basnage, Relig. of Jews, Book v. Ch. 15.

^b Exod. xxii. 26, 27. 1 Kings xi. 29, 30. Ps. civ. 2.

^c Deut. xxiv. 13.

^d Page 224, 225.

^e Vol. i. p. 190.

^f Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. Luke ix. 3.

^g Macknight's Harm. § 40.

present eastern purses, as described by Dr. Shaw, are as follow: "They are a part of the girdle, which is made to fold several times about the body, one end of which being made to double back, and sewed along the edges, serves them for a purse, agreeable to the acceptation of the *זוּמָה* in the Scriptures."^a The length of the girdle was not uniform, for sometimes it went once round the body, and sometimes more; but it was very useful for two purposes, viz. to strengthen the loins, and to prevent the feet from being entangled by the long robe or hyke, which was folded round the body. The 6th part of the dress was the cloak or *mantle*.^b This seems to have been an elegant part of dress, and worn over the rest; for although the hyke resembles the Highland plaid in shape, it differs from it in fineness, and the closeness with which it is wrapt round the body, forming not merely an appendage to, but an essential part of dress. The ancient mantles, like the modern burnouses, were frequently made of, or adorned with skins, furs, ermine, &c. The word is applied to Elijah's hairy garment,^c which seems to have been a burnoose either lined with fur or formed of skin. And in Micah ii. 8. we find the Israelites reproached with pulling off the robe or burnoose with the garment or hyke. Indeed Parkhurst (קֶרֶם) thinks the burnoose or upper garment received its Hebrew name from its being more showy than the hyke, as it is among the Moors in Barbary to this day. The 7th part of dress were the *shoes* or *sandals*, for none of the ancient nations wore breeches or stockings, the hyke answering the purpose of femoralia, and the legs being commonly bare. The sandal was a piece of strong leather, or wood, fastened to the sole of

^a Page 227.

^b Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. Luke ix. 3.

^c 1 Kings xix. 13.

the foot with strings, which they tied round the foot and ankle. This is called the shoe latchet in Scripture, and is commonly to be seen on the antique statues and medals. They were known even in the days of Abraham, for in his conversation with the king of Sodom, after the overthrow of the kings, when urged to take the booty of these kings as his reward, he generously declined, and said he would not take even a shoe latchet, lest the king of Sodom should say he made Abraham rich.^a The shoes were different from the sandals, for they were a kind of short boot that covered the foot and part of the leg, and were a more delicate piece of dress than the sandal among the men.^b In conformity with this are the words of Rauwolff, who tells us that the Arabs of the desert, when not able to buy shoes, take necks of undressed skins instead of them, and put them about their feet, with the hair outwards, and so tie or lace them up.^c Sandals are the common wear of the poor at present; but the rich use socks, and slippers of red or yellow morocco; yellow according to Thevenot, being the ordinary colour, red the most magnificent.^d And it appears from Scripture that they laid aside their shoes or sandals when they approached God in acts of worship: a practice to which Juvenal alludes, when, in speaking of the Jews in his time, he says,^e “*Observant ubi festa mero pede sabbata reges.*” There is still another part of dress which ought not to be omitted, and these were their תפלין *Thepelim* or *Phylacteries*. They were described when treating of the dress of the high priest, and a picture of a person praying with them may be seen in Spencer,^f where he enters fully into their form and use. Some learned men have taxed the

^a Gen. xiv. 23. ^b Macknight's Harm. § 40. ^c Page 157. ^d Part i. p. 30.

^e Sat. vi. vers. 158. ^f De Legibus Hebr. Ritualibus, vol. ii. sub finem.

Jews with superstition for understanding the passages in Exod. xiii. 16, and Deut. vi. 8, xi. 18, which refer to them, literally; but if Deut. vi. 8, be not a positive literal command, it will be hard to find one in the law. There is no doubt but these outward signs, like all the other legal ceremonies, had an inward and spiritual sense, and what sense is so natural as that binding portions of the law upon their hands, should remind them of performing it; and that binding them between their eyes should denote the constant regard they ought to have to it? Our blessed Saviour, in Matt. xxiii. 5, does not find fault with the Pharisees for wearing these phylacteries, any more than he does for wearing fringes to their garments (which was another positive injunction of the law, Numb. xv. 38—40, and to which we learn from Matt. ix. 20. xiv. 36, that Christ himself conformed,) but he blames them for making the one broad and the other large, to be seen of men.

These were the ordinary parts of dress for the men, when going about their usual employments; but when they set out on a journey, they had something additional.—Thus, in a country where there were no regular inns, it was necessary for every traveller to carry his own provisions, or, at least, the materials for preparing them, in a scrip, (תורמיל, *Thurmil*, τσφα,) or bag, which they either tied to their back, or suspended from their neck. And, besides the scrip, they had also a staff, as a necessary appendage. Chardin says, that it is a custom almost every where in the East to carry a staff in their hand; and mentions particularly, that each of the Persepolitans had one. Of which last remark, the author of this work is qualified to judge, having seen a piece of black marble which was taken from the staircase of Persepolis, the once splendid palace of Jemsheed: on which were two male figures in basso relievo, of three fourths

length, with caps like those of hunters; their beards and hair in regular rows of short curls, like wigs; their coats without necks, and plaited in the skirts, like the fashion half a century ago: they were eighteen inches high; the one holding a staff upwards, and the other a staff in a walking posture. The ornaments in the stair case from which this was taken are considered very ancient. Sir John Malcolm,^a and many other travellers, have given us an account of them. Every classical scholar will immediately recollect that Persepolis was burnt by Alexander, at the instigation of his mistress, Thäis, A. A. C. 330, but the final ruin of it is attributed to Sumearah-u-Dowlah, A. D. 982.

Having said this much of the dress of the men, let us next attend to

2. *The Dress of the Women.*

The dress of those in the lower ranks was probably very coarse and simple: for we are unable to ascertain it at this distance of time. But, as the dresses of the East, like their other customs, have been very stationary, it is not unlikely that the following extract from Neibuhr^b may somewhat resemble the ancient dress of the poorer Jews. "The whole dress," says he, "of a woman of low rank in Arabia, consists of drawers and a very long shift of blue linen, wrought by a needle with some ornaments of a different colour, and a veil." And Thevenot describes the dress of those between Egypt and Sinai, as consisting of the same materials.^c Such then we may suppose to have been the dress of the lower orders of the Jewish women: but those of rank and fashion spared no cost in the adorning of their persons.

One of their principal cares was the adorning of their

^a History of Persia, vol. i. chap. 7. ^b Arabia, p. 57. ^c Part i. p. 173.

hair. This, which was commonly of a dark colour, as is generally the case with the eastern people, was worn long,^a and either hung in ringlets down the back, plaited with ribbands and trinkets, or was tied in a knot on the crown of the head. Hence the well set hair mentioned by Isaiah, iii. 24, and the reproofs by St. Paul,^b and St. Peter,^c against those who were vain of this part of dress. Lady Mary W. Montagu tells us, that the hair of the Turkish ladies is still worn in this manner, "hanging at full length behind, divided into tresses, braided with pearls or ribands; that she never any where else saw such fine heads of hair; and that, in one lady's hair, she counted a hundred and ten of these tresses, all natural."^d Russell tells us, that the ladies at Aleppo adorned their hair with flowers according to the season.^e And the editor of the ruins of Palmyra, when examining some mummies, in the Palmyrine sepulchres, found the hair of a female plaited exactly after the manner commonly used by the Arabian and Moorish women at present: viz. collected into a knot at the crown of the head, and plaited with ribands. I may add from Captain Light's Travels,^f that "their hair is always anointed with oil of cassia, of which every village has a small plantation"—a practice which may explain to us why the royal garments are said by the Psalmist to have smelled of cassia.^g Sometimes they wore elegant head-dresses, in the form of tiaras or turbans. These are called "hoods" in Isaiah iii. 23, but rendered turbans by Bishop Lowth. In Prov. i. 9, they are called ornaments of grace. And in Ezekiel, xvi. 12, they are called "beautiful crowns for the head." So that, as the eastern ladies have ever been uncommonly fond of dress, it

^a 1 Cor. xi. 15.^b 1 Tim. ii. 9.^c 1 Epistle, iii. 3.^d Vol. ii. p. 31.^e Vol. i. p. 106. 252.^f Page 96.^g Ps. xlv. 8.

was perhaps to these head-dresses that the jewel on the forehead, mentioned in Ezek, xvi. 12, was attached; and from them, also, might be suspended those rows of jewels mentioned in Cant. i. 10, which adorned the cheeks of the spouse; for Lady Mary W. Montagu^a mentions the Sultana Hafiten as wearing round her talpoche, or head-dress, four strings of pearl, the finest and whitest in the world. And Olearius, as cited by Harmer in his outlines of a New Commentary on Solomon's Song, says, that the Persian ladies wear two or three rows of pearl round the head, beginning on the forehead, and descending down the cheeks, and under the chin, so that their faces seem to be set in pearls.—But, in considering the methods which were taken by the Jewish ladies to render themselves beautiful, we should not overlook the painting of the eyes, which, especially by candle-light, gave them a wonderful gracefulness. This is often referred to in Scripture,^b and is thus described by modern writers: "Great eyes," says Sandys,^c "are in principal repute among the Turkish women, and of those, the blacker they be, the more amiable: insomuch, that, with a fine long pencil, they put between the eyelids and the eye a certain black powder, made of a mineral brought from the kingdom of Fez, and called *Alchole*, which, by the not disagreeable staining of the lids, doth better set forth the whiteness of the eye: and, though it be troublesome for a time, yet it comforteth the sight, and repelleth ill humours." "None of those Moorish ladies," says Dr. Shaw,^d "take themselves to be completely dressed till they have tinged the hair and edges of the eyelids with *Al-kahol*, the powder of lead-ore. The operation is performed,

^a Vol. ii. p. 136.

^b 2 Kings ix. 30, Jer. iv. 30, Ezek. xxiii, 40, &c.

^c Page 35.

^d Page 229.

by dipping first into the powder a small wooden bodkin, of the thickness of a quill, and then drawing it afterwards through the eyelids, over the ball of the eye." The above writers clearly show us what is meant by painting the eyes; but the following quotation from Savary^a will make us acquainted with the manner in which the stibium was prepared. "Cohel is a preparation of burnt tin, with gall nuts, which the Turkish women use for blackening and lengthening their eyebrows;" which cohel is the very word almost, (כחל *Cehel*), which is used in Scripture for this operation. Dr. Russell^b gives us an account both of the operation, and the way in which the powder is prepared. "Upon the principle," says he, "of strengthening the sight, as well as an ornament, it is become a general practice among the women to black the inside of their eyelids, by applying a powder called *Ismed*, which appears to be a rich lead ore, prepared by roasting it in a quince, apple, or truffle, and then levigated with oil of sweet almonds on a marble stone. (Dr. Clarke calls it a black powder made of the sulphuret of antimony.) Their method of applying the powder is by a cylindrical piece of silver, steel, or ivory, about two inches long, made very smooth, and about the size of a common probe: this they wet with water, in order that the powder may stick to it, and applying the middle part horizontally to the eye, they shut the eyelids upon it, and so drawing it through between them, it blacks the inside, leaving a narrow black ring all round the edge." This custom of painting the eyes, however,

^a Letters on Egypt, Lett. 11.

^b History of Aleppo, p. 103.

^c These remarks explain the conduct of Sicarii, or robbers who infested Judea a short while before Jerusalem was taken by the Romans; and of whom Josephus says that "they devoured what spoils they had taken, together with their blood, and indulged themselves in feminine wantonness—decking their hair, putting on women's garments, besmearing themselves all over with ointments, painting under their eyes to appear very comely: but, while their

was not peculiar to the Jews, but common to other eastern nations, as may be seen by consulting the authors quoted below.^a The *Nose-jewels* are the next thing remarkable in the dress of the Jewish ladies. They are often mentioned in Scripture,^b and still continue to be used by the females of the East. Sir John Chardin, as quoted by Harmer,^c tells that "it is the custom, in almost all the East, for the women to wear rings in their noses, in the left nostril, which is bored low down in the middle. These rings are of gold, and have commonly two pearls and one ruby between, placed in the ring. I never saw," says he "a girl or young woman in Arabia, or in all Persia, who did not wear a ring after this manner in her nostril." Thus far Chardin. Captain Light^d says those of the poor are of bone or metal; and they who have seen any Indian paintings, will have observed that the same practice of having ornaments for the nose universally prevails among the Hindoos. As for the *ear-rings*,^e they have always been a very general part of dress. Sir John Chardin's account of them is as follows: "Some of the eastern ear-rings," says he, "are small and go so close to the ear, as that there is no vacuity between them. Others are so large that you may put the fore-finger between, adorned with a ruby, and a pearl on each side of it, strung on the ring." As there are two words used for this ornament in the Old Testament, Parkhurst makes the first of these kinds to be the *קָוֶה*, *Ogil*, on account of its circular form; and

faces looked like the faces of women, they killed with their right hands; and while their gait was effeminate, they presently attacked men, and drawing their swords from under their finely dyed cloaks, they run every body through whom they met with." War, iv. 9.


^a Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 6. Juvenal ii. 92. Xenophon Cyropæd. Lib. i. p. 15. edit. Hutch. 8vo. Clemens Alexand. Pæd. lib. iii. cap. 2. Herodian, Lib. v. cap. 16.

^b Is. iii. 21. Gen. xxiv. 47, &c.

^c Observations, vol. ii. p. 390.

^d Page 96.

^e Is. iii. 20. Ezek. xvi. 12.

the second the , *Nezem*, from its artificial structure. Chardin says that he had seen some of these larger ear-rings with figures on them, and strange characters, which he believed to be talismans. Perhaps the ear-rings of Jacob's family, which he buried with the strange gods at Bethel,^a were of this kind. The last ornament for the head was the *veil*, which, however laid aside when in the house, and among their female friends, was always used when they went abroad, or appeared in the presence of the men. Hence, to appear without a veil was considered as the mark of a person of no character. Neibuhr^b tells us that, "the most essential part of the dress of the women in the East still seems to be the veil, with which they cover their faces, when a man approaches them;" and in his twenty-third plate, No. 48, he presents us with the head of a female, whose face is partly visible through a thin transparent veil. Other travellers give us similar accounts of this part of dress. Hitherto we have considered the ornaments connected with the head; let us next attend to those which were peculiar to the neck.—They consisted of pearls and emeralds strung on a thread, or of chains of gold. The prophet Ezekiel, xvi. 11, calls them therefore "chains on the neck." Solomon describes the spouse as having her neck "beautiful with chains of gold," pearl, or emerald; for "gold" is the supplement of our translators:^c one of which even ravished his heart;^d and, as the eastern necklaces were often very valuable, we may see the force of Abraham's words to the king of Sodom, when he said to him, after the defeat of the kings, that he would not take "from a thread even to a shoe latchet, lest he should say that he made Abraham rich:"^e meaning that he would not take

^a Gen. xxxv. 4.^b Arabie, p. 134.^c Cant. i. 10.^d Cant. iv. 9.^e Gen. xiv. 23.

from the most valuable to the most trifling part of the spoil; from the thread which strung the pearl or emerald necklace, to the thong which bound the sandal to the foot. Necklaces of pearl, emerald, and gold, are still much worn in the East, and may serve to illustrate Scripture. Thus, Lady M. W. Montagu, when describing the dress of the Turkish Sultana Hafiten, says, “round her neck she wore three chains which reached to her knees, one of large pearls, at the bottom of which hung a fine coloured emerald as big as a turkey’s egg, another consisting of 200 emeralds close joined together, of the most lively green, perfectly matched, every one as large as a half-crown piece, and as thick as three crown pieces, and another of small emeralds perfectly round.”^a The female Arab of whom Neibuhr gives us a print^b had three strings of pearls hanging at her neck. Judith, when she was desirous of charming Holofernes,^c did not forget her chains. And in Stewart’s Journey to Mequinez, the maids of the Moorish Emperor’s palace are described with gold chains about their necks.—After the ornaments for the neck we may notice the ornaments for the hands. The arms of the eastern ladies were commonly bare when in the house, but ornamented with bracelets;^d these were indeed not peculiar to the females, for we find the Amalekite bringing to David Saul’s crown and bracelet.^e And the hands of the bridegroom, in Cant. v. 14, are compared to gold rings set with the beryl, or having bracelets of gold set with beryl. But though they were sometimes worn by men of higher rank, they were the common appendages of the women, and consisted either of chains of gold, or strings of precious stones. In Indian paintings the arms both above

^a Letters, vol. ii. p. 72. 137.

^b Voyage, tom. i. p. 242.

^c Ch. x. 3.

^d Is. iii. 19. Ezek. xvi. 11.

^e 2 Sam. i. 10.

and below the elbow are adorned with these chains.— But if they ornamented their arms with bracelets, they also stained their nails, and sometimes their hands and feet with the כפר, *Ceper*, Cyprus, or Al-hennah. (*Lawsonia inermis*.) It occurs in Cant. i. 14. iv. 13, but is translated “camphire,” and mentioned as a perfume, rather than a dye. Dr. Shaw’s account of this plant is as follows: “This beautiful odoriferous plant, if it is not annually cut and kept low, grows ten or twelve feet high, putting out its little flowers in clusters, which yield a most grateful smell like camphor, and may therefore be alluded to in Cant. i. 14.—The leaves of this plant, after they are dried, and powdered, are disposed of to good advantage in all the markets of the kingdom of Tunis. For with this, all the African ladies that can purchase it tinge their lips, hair, hands, and feet, rendering them thereby of a tawny saffron colour, which with them is reckoned a great beauty.”^a Russell mentions the same practice of dyeing the feet and hands with hennah, as general among all sects and conditions at Aleppo.^b Neibuhr tells us that, “the women in some parts of Yemen, or Arabia Felix, have the same custom.”^c And Hasselquist gives us the following account of the practice: “The al-henna,” says he, “grows in India, and in Upper Egypt, flowering from May till August; the leaves are pulverized and made into a paste with water; they bind this paste on the nails of their hands, and feet, and keep it on all night; this gives them a deep yellow, which is greatly admired by the eastern nations; the colour lasts for three or four weeks before there is occasion to renew it. The custom is so ancient in Egypt,” adds he, “that I have seen the nails of mummies dyed in this manner. The powder is

^a Page 113, 114.

^b Page 103.

^c Arabia, p. 57, 58.

exported in large quantities yearly, and may be reckoned a valuable commodity.”^a Such are the accounts that are given us of the henna, or al-henna : and as this plant does not appear to be a native of Palestine, but of India and Egypt, it seems mentioned in Cant. i. 14, as a curiosity growing in the vineyards of Engedi. Parkhurst thinks it probable (כפר III.,) that the Jews might be acquainted with its uses as a dye or tinge, before they had experienced its odoriferous virtue, and might, from its dyeing quality, have given it the name of Ceper. It would appear that staining the nails, in ancient times, was a mark of freedom and joy : for, in Deut. xxi. 12, in the injunction concerning the female slave, which the victor chose to take to wife, it is said, that she shall pare her nails, or, literally, she shall make her nails : that is, stain them.—And Mephibosheth, during David’s absence from Jerusalem, is said, not to have dressed, literally, not to have stained his feet.^b Bruce says that the henna is used both as an ornament and an astringent, to keep them dry from sweat.—Many of the poor in Palestine at this day wear no *shifts*, but those in easier circumstances do, and they are commonly of linen, cotton, or gauze, but those of the Arabs are of woollen.^c This under garment was anciently called סדין, *Sedin*, and is mentioned in Judg. xiv. 12, 13. Prov. xxxi. 24. Around the breasts they had also a kind of fascia pectoralis, or zone, compressing them in such a manner as to make them appear plump and round. It is mentioned in Exod. xxxv. 22, where it is rendered “tablets,” and is said to have been made of gold, which would have been difficult to explain, if we had not known that the ladies in the East use such cases, but so pliable, as to favour every motion of the body. Those of the poor are gene-

^a Page 246.^b 2 Sam. xix. 24.^c Shaw, page 228.

rally of wood, flexibly wrought.^a But, besides these zones, the Jewish ladies had also fine linen,^b or fine linen vests, as Lowth renders the word, which sat close to the body like the “antery” of Lady M. W. Montagu,^c which was “a waistcoat made close to the shape,” and perhaps also sometimes as elegant as hers, which was white and gold damask. The gown or *upper robe* of the Jewish women varied much, according to their station. Thus, in the case of Ruth^d it must have been of a considerable size, in order to hold so much barley. Accordingly, Dr. Shaw thinks it no other than the hyke, the finer sort of which, as still worn by the ladies and persons of distinction among the Arabs, he takes to answer the *πεπλος*, or *peplus*, of the Greeks.

In the Indian paintings particularly, the thin and beautifully flowered gauze that appears over a thick dark coloured slip gives us a distinct idea of the changeable suits of apparel, embroidered robes, and transparent garments which are spoken of by our translators, and Bishop Lowth, in their explanation of Is. iii. 22, Ezekiel xvi. 10, without having recourse to those which were worn by the Lacedæmonian, and Coan courtezans.^e *Girdles* are frequently mentioned in Scripture as a part of female dress, and those of the higher ranks were elegantly embroidered. They were fastened by a clasp of various materials, according to the rank and taste of the wearer. In the description of the spouse, in Cant. vii. 2, the clasps of her girdle were so formed as to look like a goblet filled with liquor, or mixed wine, as it might easily be made to do by a proper disposition of the precious stones.^f It appears that beautiful girdles

^a Neibuhr, Heron's Edit. vol. ii. p. 347.

^b Is. iii. 23.

^c Vol. ii. p. 12.

^d Ch. iii. 15.

^e Plutarch, Vita Numæ. Horace, Lib. i. Sat. 2, v. 101.

^f Harmer's Outlines of a new Commentary of Solomon's Song. p. 10, where see more.

still make a prominent feature in the dress of the eastern ladies; for Dr. Chandler,^a describing the dress of the Grecian lady, says, "A rich zone encompasses her waist, and is fastened before by clasps of silver gilded, or of gold set with precious stones." In Russell's Natural History of Aleppo, p. 101, is a print of a Turkish lady, whose clasp looks like three artificial flowers of precious stones. And Neibuhr^b presents us, in tab. 24, with a Grecian lady of Alexandria, in Egypt, the clasp of whose girdle resembles two little oval shields, having a flower in the middle.—In the East the ladies wear *drawers*, and the same seems to have been the case formerly; for Harmer, in his Outline of a Commentary on Solomon's Song, ch. vii. 1, translates the word, which is rendered "joints," as more properly meaning that concealed dress or covering for the legs which is still worn by the Moorish and Turkish women of rank. Let a female, however, be here the commentator. "The first part of my dress," says Lady M. W. Montagu,^c "is a pair of drawers, very full, that reaches to my shoes, and conceals the legs much more modestly than your petticoats. They are of a thin rose-coloured damask, brocaded with silver flowers. Over my drawers hangs my smock, of fine white silk gauze, edged with embroidery." Thus have we seen the dress for the head, body, and legs; let us next attend to the *feet*. When the drawers were not so long as her ladyship describes them, the legs were ornamented with rings or chains of gold, which are called "the ornaments for the legs" in Is. iii. 20. Pliny^d mentions the compedes, or fetters of silver, which were worn by women of the lower ranks among the Romans. Niebuhr speaks of the great rings which the poor and

^a Travels in Greece, p. 123, 124.

^c Vol. ii. p. 12.

^b Voyage en Arabie, tom. i. p. 135.

^d Hist. Nat. Lib. xxxiii. cap. 12.

the dancing women in Egypt, and an Arabian woman of the desert, wore round their legs.^a Dr. Shaw in his *Travels*, p. 241, mentions the shackles, or tinkling ornaments of the feet, as a part of the constant dress of the Moorish women; and Stewart, in his *Journey to Mequinez*, says, that "the Moorish women in those parts have bracelets about their arms and legs;" whilst Rauwolff tells us, "that the Arab women, whom he saw in his going down the Euphrates, wore rings about their legs and hands, and sometimes a good many together, which in their stepping slipped up and down, and so made a great noise." To all these we may add the testimony of Chardin, that "in Persia and Arabia they wear rings about their ancles, which are full of little bells. These the children and young girls take a particular pleasure in giving motion, with which view they walk quick," which explains Is. iii. 16, where it is said that they walk "mincing as they go, and making a tinkling with their feet."—But whilst the legs were ornamented with rings and bells, the feet also were commonly ornamented with sandals. Hence the bridegroom, when speaking of the spouse in Cant. vii. 1, says, "How beautiful are thy feet with shoes (or sandals,) O prince's daughter!" From which we learn that these were anciently an eminent part of female eastern finery. So Judith, ch. x. 4, when she proposed to charm Holofernes, took her sandals (*σανδαλια*) upon her feet; and in ch. xvi. 9, it is said that her sandals ravished his eyes. Homer also in the brief description he gives of Juno's dress, when she intended to captivate Jupiter, does not omit her sandals;^b and in modern times Lady M. W. Montagu, when describing her Turkish dress,^c says, "my shoes are of white kid leather, embroidered with

^a Tom. i. p. 133. 148. 194.

^b *Iliad* xiv, 186.

^c Lett. 29, vol. ii. p. 12.

gold;" and of the fair Fatima,^a "her slippers were white satin, finely embroidered." On the ancient sandals there appears, however, to have been something more than embroidery; for they rather seem to have resembled the sandals of the Hindoos, which frequently make a tinkling noise by reason of the ornaments that are attached to them, since we read of tinkling ornaments for the feet,^b as well as rings on the legs. In Ezek. xvi. 10, mention is made of sandals, of badgers' skins, which were accounted a luxury. When tanned they resemble Turkey leather, and were probably used as a substitute. Mr. Harmer tells us that they are less exposed to crack than most kinds of leather, and more durable.^c

Thus have we attended to those parts of the house dress which may be considered as common, but there were several other which were occasionally added. It was their usual practice, for instance, when they went abroad, to wear something to cover all the face except the eyes, and that hid the whole dress of the head: this is translated "mantles," in Is. iii. 22. It consisted in a large veil, and in cold weather in a burnoose, or cloak; and when they sat in the house, perfume boxes were almost their constant companions. Some of these in present use are as large as the hand; the common ones are of gold; the others are covered with jewels. They are full of holes, and filled with black paste, very light, made of musk and amber, but of a very strong smell.^d It is to these that the spouse alludes when she says, Cant. i. 13, "A bundle of myrrh is my well beloved unto me; he shall lie all night betwixt my breasts;" for a bundle, or small casket of myrrh, is the same part

^a Letter 33. ^b Is. iii. 18. ^c Observ. ch. 11, Ob. 43, Clarke's edit.

^d Complete System of Geog. vol. ii. p. 175.

of dress as the perfume boxes of the ancient eastern ladies, which were often of gold, covered with jewels, and suspended from the neck by a gold chain, so as to fall down upon the breast as low as the girdle. In this point of view the words have nothing indelicate, but mean that he was dear to her as the casket of myrrh, which remained always in her bosom.

But if they used perfume boxes to destroy the effects of a profuse perspiration, so did they almost always appear with a handkerchief; at least we may conjecture this from the universality of the present practice. Sir John Chardin^a tells us, that "the fashion of wearing wrought handkerchiefs is general in Arabia, Syria, Palestine, and generally in all the Turkish empire. They are wrought with the needle, and it is the amusement of the fair sex to make them for their relations or favourites. They have them almost constantly in their hands, in these warm countries, to wipe off sweat." This custom of using handkerchiefs is as ancient as it is universal, for Niebuhr, when examining the antiquities of the island of Elephanta, near Bombay, says, "in many places the handkerchief, still used through all India, is observable in the hands of the inferior figures."^b

Another accompaniment of female dress was the hand mirror. We find the first mention of them in Exod. xxxviii. 8. They were evidently specula, or metallic mirrors, for Moses made the foot of the laver of the looking glasses of the women, who appeared at the door of the tabernacle. Bishop Lowth tells us that he had a metalline mirror found in Herculaneum, which was not above three inches square;^c and we are informed by Dr. Shaw, p. 241, that looking glasses are still part of the dress of the Moorish women in Barbary; that they

^a MS. vol. vi. ^b Heron's Edit. vol. ii. p. 322. ^c Notes on Is. ch. viii. 1.

hang them constantly upon their breasts, and do not lay them aside even in the midst of their most laborious employments. The doctor does not tell us of what metal they are composed; but Chardin says they are steel, and for the most part convex. Perhaps the generality of those used by the Jewish women were of this metal, although the first that we read of were of brass; for we find the sky in Job xxxvii. 18, compared to a molten looking glass, or to a speculum of polished steel. Having thus attended to the different parts of female dress, I may conclude the subject by remarking, that we have an instance of a full dressed woman in Judith, when she went to attract the notice of Holofernes.*

It will be in the recollection of all, that the fashion of the dresses of both sexes among the Jews was very stationary, and, therefore, that wardrobes were accounted family riches,^b and descended from generation to generation. This accounts for the ease with which Jehu's mandate was obeyed, when he ordered 400 vestments for the priests of Baal, that none might escape.^c And the classic scholar will instantly recollect the 5000 chlamydes or cloaks which Lucullus could furnish those who asked him.^d

Every age also hath had its favourite colour, some being accounted more distinctive of rank than others. Thus blue^e or purple, as having a shade of blue,^f was anciently accounted honourable; whereas blue is now the common colour of the lower ranks in the East.^g The reason is, that the ancient purple was obtained from the

* Judith x. 3, 4. xii. 15. For farther information, consult Bishop Lowth's new translation of Isaiah, ch. iii. 18—24: Fleury's *Manners of the ancient Israelites*, part ii. ch. 6: and Schroederi *Commentarius philologico-criticus de Vestita mulierum Hebræarum*.

^b Matt. vi. 19—21.

^c 2 Kings x. 22.

^d Hor. Epist. Lib. i. Ep. 6.

^e Ezek. xxiii. 6.

^f Acts xvi. 14.

^g Hasselquist, p. 244, 245.

murex, a species of shell-fish, particularly described by Pliny,^a very rare, and only to be found in the neighbourhood of Tyre; hence the Tyrian purple, which could only be purchased by emperors, and was worth its weight in gold; whereas the present blue colour is procured from indigo. The scarlet and crimson of the ancients were different from the purple; for these were produced from a worm or insect, which grew in a coccus or excrescence of a shrub of the ilex kind,^b like the cochineal worm in the opuntia of America.^c There is a shrub of this kind, says Lowth, on Is. i. 18, that grows in Provence and Languedoc, and produces the like insect, called the kermes oak, from kermes, the Arabic word for this colour; whence our word crimson is derived.—Mr. Bruce, when at Tyre, on his way to the source of the Nile, tried to obtain some of these purple fishes, but could find none after diligent fishing; and is inclined to think that the whole is fabulous, and that it was intended to conceal their knowledge of cochineal.

Before finishing the article, I shall add a few short notices. Woollen garments were not much esteemed by the ancient Jews, Ezek. xliv. 17, 18. John the Baptist's garment was a coarse cloth of camel's hair, not unlike that of the two dervishes which Captain Light saw in Egypt, who had a cloak of that material thrown over their shoulders, and tied in front to their breast, with a girdle of skin round their loins.^d Bishop Pococke, when describing the dresses of Egypt, says, that when riding they drop their upper garment around them on the saddle,^e and La Roque tells us, that the riding dress of the Arabs is a piece of cloth doubled for a cloak, and

^a Hist. Nat. Lib. ix. cap. 36.

^b Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. xvi. cap. 8.

^c See Ulloa's Voyage, b. v. ch. 2.

^d Travels, p. 135.

^e Vol. i. p. 190.

sewed at the edges like a sack, leaving a hole at the corners for the arms, and the fore part is cut open, and a place cut out for the neck. Small boots of yellow morocco, without stockings, cover the legs.* These may, perhaps, give us an idea of the Israelitish horsemen; and as Daniel and the Jews lived long in Babylon, Herodotus's account of the Babylonian dress may serve to explain a passage of Scripture. Thus he tells us^b that in his time, which was about a hundred years after the events recorded in Dan. chap. iii. the dress of the Babylonians consisted of a tunic of linen, reaching down to the feet, over this another tunic of woollen, and over all, a white short cloak or mantle, and that on their heads they wore turbans. This Parkhurst applies, *Lex. מרכל*, to the explanation of Dan. iii. 21. "Then these three men were bound in their cloaks, their turbans and their upper woollen tunics, and their under linen tunics;" and as, according to this interpretation, outer garments are particularly described, we see the propriety with which it is observed in verse 27, that these were not changed by the fire.

SECT. V.

Entertainment of the Jews.

Furniture of an eastern kitchen. Fire-places; fuel, either wood, grass, or dried cow-dung. Bread, how baked, leavened, toasted. Testimony of travellers. Public ovens, their way of sending bread to them. Eastern bread not good above a day. Their better kind of cakes; their cracknels. Bread their principal food, eaten with oil, &c.; wheat, parched corn, barley, beans, summer fruits, roots; milk. Butter, how made by them; butter-milk a luxury; laban, how prepared; cheeses of the East, how made, not good. The general diet at Aleppo, and of the Arabs. An eastern breakfast, dinner, and supper. They use no spoons; are careful how they drink water; have wine at table; their wine often muddy; the cup-bearer's office; banqueting cups. Manner

* Page 208, 209.

^b Lib. i. cap. 195.

of sitting at meat. Public feasts : portions sent to those who could not attend ; men and women sat often at different tables : the fragments given to the poor. People in the East visit after supper, as well as through the day. The earliest accounts of a grace at meat. Modern Jews very particular as to their food ; have butchers with certificates that they kill according to law, two kinds of dishes their way of eating ; their bread, and manner of baking.

THE furniture of a Jewish kitchen cannot now be easily ascertained ; but that of the common people was perhaps not unlike that of the present Arabs, who have hair sacks, and trunks, and baskets, all covered with skin, in which they keep their kettles and pots, great wooden bowls, hand-mills, and pitchers ;^a goat skins also for keeping water, which are made by cutting off the head and feet of a he-goat or kid, drawing out the carcass without opening the belly, sewing up the holes, and tying them round the neck when full. Thus do they resemble somewhat the dubbars of India ; and as they are often blackened by the smoke of their tents, the Psalmist alludes to them when he says^b that he was “ become as a bottle in the smoke.” The poorer orders have also vessels made of clay, and even of dried cow-dung ; but those of the emirs or chiefs are of wood, beautifully painted, or of copper, neatly tinned.^c They have also earthen jars or pitchers, both for carrying water and preserving corn from worms and insects, which might readily have supplied Gideon with the number mentioned in Judges vii. 16. 19, 20. Every thing almost is kept by them in skins to keep it cool, preserve it from insects, and defend it from dust, which is there so fine, and in such quantities, that no chest can exclude it.^d

The fire places in the eastern houses are either on the hearth, or formed of two or three stones set over an ash-

^a La Roque, p. 176. 178. Shaw, p. 231.

^b Ps. cxix. 83.

^c La Roque, p. 11, 12.

^d Harmer, Ob. vol. i. p. 133.

pit, on which are placed their pots and kettles.—But we ought particularly to remark their scarcity of fuel. There is no mention made of mineral coal in Judea; and wood, in a closely peopled and minutely divided country, could not be abundant. At the present day there are few plantations, from a different cause, the insecurity of property and of life. It is true, indeed, that the warmth of the climate required little fuel for a great part of the year, yet the preparing of victuals, and warming of apartments in the winter season, naturally required a considerable quantity; hence the shifts they often resorted to for supplying it, by collecting the prunings of the vines,^a brushwood, stubble, grass,^b stalks of flowers, bones of animals,^c and cow-dung. Indeed, this is the practice of these countries at the present day: for Dr. Russell tells us that, owing to the scarcity of wood, they use wood and charcoal in their rooms, but heat their public baths with cow-dung and parings of fruit;^d and Pitts tells us that, at Grand Cairo, they commonly warm their ovens with dried horse and cow-dung, or dirt of the streets; what wood they have being brought from parts adjoining to the Black Sea, and sold by weight at a high price.^e The Arabs use dried cow-dung in baking their bread, and d'Arvieux complains that their bread smelt of it.^f They carefully, therefore, collect in these countries both sheep, and cow, and camel-dung, and carrying them without their cities, as Dr. Russell informs us, lay them in large heaps to dry, where they become very offensive, and then build them into stacks, and thatch them. Sir John Chardin confirms these remarks, and tells us that the eastern people, in general, always use dried cow-dung for baking bread, boiling pots, and

^a Ezek. xv. 4.^b Matt. vi. 30.^c Ezek. xxiv. 5. 10.^d Vol. i. p. 38.^e Page 104.^f Page 193, 194.

dressing all kinds of victuals that are easily cooked, owing to the general scarcity of wood: and the Hindoos use it for another reason, namely, to drive away gnats, mosquitos, &c. by its smell, and that no insect might be destroyed, and thereby no offence given to the doctrine of transmigration. Hence, in many parts of the East, cart-loads of dried cow-dung are brought for sale.—This usage of cow, and even of human dung, in the dressing of victuals, serves to explain some texts of Scripture:—Thus, in 1 Sam. ii. 8, it is said, that God “lifteth up the beggar from the dunghill (or place where this fuel was kept, and which was commonly the meanest part of the house,) to set him among princes.” And in Ezekiel iv. 12, it hath often been the subject of ridicule among infidels that God commanded the prophet to eat bread made of human dung; whereas he only enjoined him to bake it with that disagreeable kind of fuel, to show the Israelites the straits to which they would be reduced in the siege, and which, when he objected against, he was allowed to exchange for dried cow-dung, or the ordinary kind of fuel.^a—This dried dung is commonly reserved by the people of the East as their store; and, therefore, in order to save it, they employ, when they can procure them, thorns,^b vine twigs, whose ashes they collect for washing their linen, furze, grass, withered stocks of herbs and flowers, and whatever is thrown into the dust-hole, or into the street.^c Hence the allusion of our Saviour in Matt. vi. 30, when he says of the grass that it is collected, dried, and cast into the oven, to assist in dressing their victuals.

In considering the cookery of the East, the first thing naturally to be attended to is their *bread*. This is commonly baked in the wooden bowl or kneading trough, as

^a Ezek. iv. 15.

^b Eccl. vii. 6.

^c Clarke's Harmer, ch. iv. ob. 20.

it is called in Exod. viii. 3, and xii. 34, in which the dough is mixed with-leaven,^a formed sometimes of the lees of wine, used as yeast, but commonly of dough, kept until it becomes sour, which it does when a part of the former day's baking is reserved to be leaven for the present.^b—After it is leavened and formed into loaves, the most ancient way of baking of which we have any account, is that by Sarah for the angels, in Gen. xviii. 6, when she baked “upon the hearth,” and which is still one of the methods used in the East. The following is the account which is given of it by travellers: Rau-wolff observed that “they frequently baked bread, in the deserts of Arabia, on the ground heated for that purpose by fire, covering their cakes of bread with ashes and coals, and turning them several times, till they were done enough.”^c Busbequius mentions the baking of bread under the coals by the women of Bulgaria in Turkey, as an usual practice in his time.^d—And, not to multiply testimonies of a fact so well known, I shall only further add the account of Niebuhr: “The Arabs of the desert,” says he, “sometimes put a ball of paste upon coals of lighted wood, or upon camel's-dung dried; they cover it carefully with this fire, in order that it may be thoroughly penetrated by it; they afterwards take off the ashes, and eat it hot.” Ray^e says that the loaf is commonly about an inch thick.—But, although this be the most ancient way, it is far from being the only one in which the easterns bake their bread: for sometimes they bake it in a Ta-jen, or shallow earthen vessel, like a frying-pan,^f probably alluded to in Levit. ii. 7; sometimes on small convex plates of iron or cop-

^a Shaw, pref. xi., xii., and Trav. p. 231. ^b Clarke's Harmer, ch. iv. ob. 16.

^c Harm. Ob. vol. i. p. 232.

^d De Legat. Turc. epist. i. p. 42.

^e Descript. de l'Arabie, p. 46.

^f Collection of Travels, p. 149, 150

^g Shaw, page 231.

per, alluded to perhaps in Levit. ii. 5, which they keep for the purpose, and on which the bread is thin like skins;^a sometimes around the outside of a great stone pitcher, properly heated, on which they pour a thin paste of meal and water, which is baked in an instant by evaporating the moisture:^b Parkhurst thinks this alluded to in Exod. xvi. 31; sometimes in an oven in the ground, four or five feet deep, and three feet in diameter, well plastered with mortar, against whose sides, when heated, they place the bread, which is commonly long, and not thicker than the finger, where it is baked in a moment;^c sometimes in an oven about fifteen inches wide at top, and gradually growing wider towards the bottom, against the inner sides of which, when heated with wood, and perfectly cleared of smoke, by having nothing but embers below, they fix the cakes by wetting that side of them that is to adhere to the oven, and watching them till they are ready, lest they should fall down among the embers. In this way they can keep three or four of these in the oven at one time, and preserve their arms from being scorched by dipping them every time in water,^d and sometimes they bake their bread in a public oven, to save fuel, alluded to in Lev. xxvi. 26. When this plan is adopted, the women prepare the dough at home, the baker sends his boys to give notice that he is ready to receive it; those who have it ready knock at the inside of their doors to make the boys hear, and, on their approach, open their doors a little, and hide their faces while giving it; and after it is baked it is returned to them with the same formalities.^e We read in Jer. xxxvii. 21, of a bakers' street being in Jerusalem.—The common eastern cakes are small,

^a Pococke, vol. ii. p. 96.

^b D'Arvieux, p. 192, 193.

^c Clarke's Harmer, ch. iv. ob. 11.

^d Jackson's Journey to India, p. 50. ^e Pitts, page 65.

thin, and moist; hence the reason why three are said to have been required for a single person, in Luke xi. 5; and they need to be eaten new, since, if older than a day, they are good for nothing. This was the reason why the person asking had none of his own, and therefore applied to a neighbour who, having children, might probably have to supply his necessity.—Such, then, are their common cakes; but they have a better and richer kind than these, made with the yolks of eggs, and mixed and sprinkled with sesamum, coriander, and wild saffron:^a and also rusks and biscuits for travelling, which will keep a long time.^b The word translated cracknels, in 1 Kings xiv. 3, is understood by Harmer to mean either small biscuits full of holes like a honey-comb, by means of eggs, or a solution of soap; or else that kind of bread which is spotted or strewed over with various seeds.—Bread both was, and is, the principal food of the eastern nations. Dr. Shaw observes^c that they “are great eaters of bread; it being computed that three persons in four live entirely upon it, or else upon such compositions as are made of barley or wheat flour.” And Niebuhr^d tells us “that the principal nourishment of the orientals in general, is fresh baked bread, and that therefore they take especial care not to want meal when they travel in the desert.”—Their bread is sometimes eaten by itself; sometimes dipped in cirika oil by the poor, or in oil of olives by the rich;^e and sometimes it is eaten with salt, or summer savory, dried, powdered, and mixed with salt.^f When they use their bread at meals, they break it and dip it in oil, vinegar, rob, hatted milk, honey, &c.;^g or present it in a

^a Ray's Travels, p. 95.

^b Russell, vol. i. p. 116.

^c Page 230.

^d Arabie, tom. i. p. 188.

^e Pococke, vol. ii. p. 3.

^f Russell, vol. i. p. 176.

^g Shaw, p. 232.

wooden bowl, broken and mixed with some of the above ingredients.^a Accordingly, in Ruth ii. 14, we find Boaz's reapers dipping their bread in vinegar.—But besides bread, the people of the East have many other articles of food. Thus, in 2 Sam. xvii. 28, 29. Ezek. iv. 9, we read of sheep, flour or meal, wheat, barley, something that was parched, beans, lentils, butter, honey, millet, fitches, and something belonging to kine; and in 1 Chron. xii. 40, we have figs, raisins, wine, oil, &c.; let us notice a little the principal of these:—Wheat is variously prepared for use; sometimes as bread; sometimes as burgle, when it is dried, bruised in a mill so as to take off the husk, boiled like rice into a pillaw, made into balls, with meat and spices, provincially called cubby; and these balls fried or boiled as they like best.^b Parched corn is also a part of their food:^c but Dr. Russell thinks it may be parched barley, for they steep, dry, and bruise wheat and barley in quantities, laying them up afterwards for use; but they use corn in small quantities every day, keeping it in chests, called ambers, at Aleppo, that have a small opening at the bottom to take it out; but the general way is in earthen pots or jars, and not in sacks, chests, or barrels, on account of insects.^d The flour of parched barley is used by the Moors in West-Barbary for food when on a journey. Their zumeet is barley flour mixed with honey, butter, and spice. Their tumeet is the same done up with origan oil; and their limereea is barley flour mixed with water, as a cooling and refreshing draught. Beans boiled, and stewed with oil and garlic, are the favourite food of persons of distinction. They are also presented parched, but in that state they never form a dish by

^a Pococke, vol. i. p. 113.

^b Russell, vol. i. p. 117.

^c Josh. v. 11. Ruth ii. 14. 1 Sam. xvii. 17. 2 Sam. 17. 28.

^d Clarke's Harmer, ch. iv. ob. 24.

themselves, but are strewed singly as a garnish over other dishes :^a and they accompany cheese after their meals, as part of the dessert, instead of preserves, cicebs, hazel nuts, &c.^b Melons, cucumbers, and onions, are the common food of the Egyptians in summer. Maillet says that the Egyptian onions are sweeter than any other in the world. Endive or succory is a common food of the poor. Purslane is also common. Roman lettuces begin to be in season in November, and continue till April : they have a sugar-like taste, and are so agreeable as to be eaten without salt, oil, and vinegar. Radishes, carrots, and the leaves of the vine are also eaten ; and a plant that grows near the mountains, the pith of which is used for food by the Arabs when dried. They use also the lotus, whether we understand by it the colocassia, or the water lily, or something different from both. Leeks are much eaten in Egypt ; and garlic, although eaten, is imported from the islands of the Archipelago. The Copts in Egypt, of the middling and lower ranks, sit down to bread, raw onions, and a seed pounded and put into oil, which they call *serich*, produced by the herb *simsim*, or *sesamum*, into which they dip their bread :^c and the better sort add salt-pickled cheese. Goats' milk makes a great part of the diet of the East, from the beginning of April till September, and cows' milk the rest of the year ; but it is not good when used sweet, from its tasting of garlic, by their being commonly kept in gardens. But every preparation of milk is in universal request—their butter—their butter-milk—their *leban*, or coagulated sour milk, and their cheese. Dr. Chandler, when in the Levant, saw milk churned by a man's treading on a skin which contained it ; which may account for Solomon's words

^a Shaw, p. 140. ^b Ray's *Travels*, tom. i. p. 68. ^c Pococke, vol. i. p. 182.

in Prov. xxx. 33, "The pressing of milk bringeth forth butter;" and for Job's words, when he says, chap. xxxix. 6, "I washed my steps in butter." But the common manner of churning is like that mentioned by Dr. Shaw,^a where the cream is put into a goat's skin, turned inside out, and hung between two poles of a tent or house, where it is agitated in one uniform direction so as soon to occasion a separation between the butter and milk. Stewart, in his Journey to Mequinez, and Hasselquist,^b say the same thing.—Indeed, this last person is circumstantial as to the Holy Land; for, when speaking of an encampment of Arabs, which he found not far from Tiberias, at the foot of the mountain where Christ delivered his sermon, he says, "they made butter in a leather bag hung on three poles, erected for the purpose, in the form of a cone, and drawn to and fro by two women." It is easy to suppose that the butter obtained in this way could not be very good, and accordingly D'Arvieux^c says that it generally tastes of tallow from the skin. We are also informed by Shaw^d that it requires to be purified from hairs and other nastiness by boiling it with salt, and straining it through a cloth, after which it is put into jars and preserved for use. Fresh butter, he adds, soon grows sour and rancid, I suppose, from the heat of the climate. Butter-milk is a luxury, and the chief dessert among the Moors; and when they speak of the extraordinary agreeableness of any thing, they compare it to butter-milk:^e it was no wonder then that Jael gave it to Sisera.^f Dr. Russell, however, thinks that it was rather their leban, or coagulated sour milk, which she brought him.—For although they sometimes drink sweet milk, and take much pleasure in butter-milk, yet their

^a Page 168.^b Page 159.^c Page 200, 201.^d Page 169.^e Stewart's Journey to Mequinez.^f Judges v. 25.

chief drink is leban, or coagulated sour milk, a beverage which is commonly prepared by putting the juice of an herb into it, when it curdles, to make it sourer, and consequently more refreshing: this they either drink alone or pour upon their pillaw, or boiled rice. Sour curds (kaimac) and coarse bread, toasted on the coals, were given to Dr. Chandler near Smyrna.^a The cheeses of the East are white and of a bad taste. Their common runnet is either butter-milk^b or a decoction of the great-headed thistle, or wild artichoke.^c Their cheeses rarely weigh above two or three pounds, and in shape and size are like our penny loaves. One would imagine that the ancient Jewish cheeses were of the same shape, since the same word signifies "a hill," which in Job x. 10, is translated a "cheese:" so the Septuagint translate "the high hills," in Ps. lxxviii. 15, 16, by a word that signifies "cheese-like hills."^d The vats in which the easterns make their cheeses are made of baskets of rushes, or the dwarf palm; but Sandys tells us, that after all their pressing, their cheeses are very soft.^e Having said this much of some of the leading articles of food, let us next see how they appear at table. The food of the common people of Aleppo, in winter, like those of Egypt, formerly mentioned, is very plain, and consists of bread, dibbs (or the juice of grapes thickened to the consistence of honey,) leban (or coagulated sour milk, butter, rice, and a very little mutton. In summer they subsist chiefly on rice, bread, cheese, and fruits.^f De La Roque gives the same account of the common Arabs, and adds, that "roasted meat is almost peculiar to the tables of their emirs or princes, and lambs stewed whole, and stuffed with bread, flour, mutton fat, raisins,

^a Page 157.^b La Roque, p. 200.^c Shaw, p. 168.^d Ib. p. 168. Harmer, Ob. vol. i. p. 285. ^e P. 57. ^f Russell, vol. i. p. 174.

salt, pepper, saffron, mint, and other aromatic herbs.”^a Thevenot speaks of whole lambs and sheep being roasted in ovens, which are open at top, and into which they let down the meat in an earthen pan.^b He mentions also another way used by the Armenians, who, after flaying the animal, wrap it in its skin, and cover it with coals, where it roasts thoroughly without being burnt.

The people of the East have always been in the practice of rising early, commonly with the dawn, that they may have leisure to rest or sleep in the middle of the day; and as soon as they are up they take breakfast: this consists of bread, fried eggs, cheese, honey, leban, or coagulated sour milk;° but sometimes they begin with grapes, and other fruits fresh gathered, and then have for breakfast bread, coffee, and good wines, particularly one of an exquisite flavour, called muscadel.^d —About 11 o’clock, forenoon, in winter, they dine, and rather earlier in summer. A piece of red cloth, cut in a round form, is spread upon the divan, under the table, to prevent it from being soiled, and a long piece of silk cloth is laid round, to cover the knees of such as sit at table; but the table itself has no covering except the victuals. Pickles, salads, small basons of leban, bread, and spoons (which are a modern refinement, and far from general,) are disposed in proper order round the edges. The middle is for the dishes, which, among the great, are brought in one by one, and after each person has eaten a little, they are changed.” This is Dr. Russell’s account of the custom at Aleppo,^e and it bears a considerable likeness to the Jewish tables mentioned by Lightfoot:^f for he says, that two-thirds of them were

^a Ch. xiv. p. 197.

^b Part ii. p. 95.

^c Russell, vol. i. p. 166. D’Arvieux, p. 24. Pococke, vol. i. p. 57. Clarke vol. iii. p. 419. 4to edit.

^d Chandler, p. 18.

^e Vol. i. p. 172.

^f Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations on John xiii. 23.

spread with a cloth, and one-third left bare for the dishes and herbs, and that they were hung up in some safe place by a ring to prevent defilement. As they had no table-cloths, it is probable that they were wiped with a sponge, like the royal table at Ithaca.^a The Arabs resemble those of Aleppo, in having no taste in their meals, for they set before their guests all they have, however discordant, eggs, honey, curds, pillaw, or boiled rice, broth, beans, sour cream, soup, flesh, &c., and, like the dishes at Aleppo, they are not produced at once, but in succession. In general, however, the broth is brought in first, the pillaw, or boiled rice, last, and all the other dishes between them. Stewed meats are served up in gourds with different sauces, and pot-tage, as it is called in Scripture, is made by boiling meat cut into small pieces, with rice, flour and parsley, and sometimes of herbs and meal alone, for they eat little animal food in the East.^b—And when they intend to honour any person, the master sends him a larger portion, exactly in the same way as Joseph did Benjamin.^c It appears, indeed, that such a practice was general in the East: for, in *Odyssey* iv. 65, Menelaus gave the royal portion of the choicest chine to each favoured friend; Ulysses, when at the court of Alcinous, king of Phæacia, carved from the chine an honorary part for the bard who had been entertaining them:^d—and himself received it when disguised at the cottage of Eumæus, for telling that faithful servant tidings of his master.^e Sir John Chardin gives an account of a feast at Tifflis, the chief city of Georgia, which consisted of three courses, of about sixty dishes each. The first course was wholly made up of preparations of rice, in

^a *Odys.* xx. 152.^b *La Roque*, p. 199.^c *Gen.* xlii. 34.^d *Odys.* viii. 475.^e *Odys.* xiv. 437.

which meat or other things were mixed, so as to give the rice different colours and flavours; the yellow was prepared with sugar, cinnamon, and saffron; the red with pomegranate juice; but the white was the most natural and agreeable. Their pillaw, we are told also, is sometimes seasoned with fennel, juice of cherries or mulberries, and tamarinds, and is prepared with butter, meat, &c.. in many different ways. In general, it may be observed that all the made up dishes of the easterns are literally a savoury meat,^a or highly spiced; for Dr. Russell tells us, that “they are either greasy with fat or butter; pretty well seasoned with salt and spices; many of them made sour with verjuice, pomegranate, or lemon juice; and onion and garlic often complete the seasoning:”^b whilst others are seasoned with sweet-meats; and a whole lamb, stuffed with rice, almonds, raisins pistachios, and stewed, is accounted a favourite dish.^c

This strong kind of food reminds us of the marrow and fatness mentioned in Scripture, both as natural descriptions of what the Israelites were fond of, and figurative expressions for what was tender and delicious.^d—I might add, that the Trojans were fond of the same things; for Andromache, when lamenting the fate of Astyanax, after the death of his father Hector, contrasts his present state with the time “when upon his father’s knees, he was wont to eat marrow and the fat of sheep.”^e But it may perhaps be said that the Jews were prohibited from eating both fat and blood:^f—I reply, that to eat the fat of sacrifices was expressly forbidden, because that was enjoined to be consumed on the altar; and the fat of the beasts that died of themselves, or were torn by

^a Gen. xxvii. 4.

^b Vol. i. p. 115.

^c Russell, vol. i. p. 172.

^d Job xxi. 24. xxxvi. 16. Ps. lxiii. 5. Jer. xxxi. 14.

^e Iliad xxii. 500.

^f Levit. iii. 17.

wild beasts, was forbidden as food, but might be used any other way ;^a but we find no injunction against eating the fat of those animals that were killed for food. Josephus, indeed, says, that Moses forbade only the fat of oxen, goats, and sheep, including the young of each, founding his authority on Levit. vii. 25 ; and the modern Jews observe this custom, imagining themselves at liberty to eat the fat of every other ; but commentators in general maintain, that the prohibition of fat was entirely confined to the fat of animals used in sacrifice. As for blood, the prohibition of that rested on a different foundation, being intended to preserve their reverence for the Messiah, who shed his blood as an atoning sacrifice for the sins of the world. But let us return to the entertainments of the East.

In general they sup early, that is, about five o'clock in winter, and six in summer.^b Captain Light makes it eight,^c and their supper very much resembles their dinner. Accordingly Pocoeke says, that “ in the supper sent him by an Egyptian aga, along with the pillaw or boiled rice, he had goat’s flesh boiled, and well peppered, hot bread, and a soup made of barley, with the husk taken off, like rice.”^d

From the above account of eastern dishes, it will easily be seen that the higher classes especially live, if not elegantly, at least very profusely, eating, their thick meats with the thumb and two fore fingers, and their milk and pottage, by dipping bread into it. When they drink water at table, it is commonly out of cups, shells, or horns ;^e but if from a river, they take it from the palm of the hand, or if from a pitcher or gourd, they suck it through their sleeve, for fear of leeches. At

^a Levit. vii. 23—25.

^b Russel, vol. i. p. 166.

^c Travels, p. 130.

^d Vol. i. p. 122, 123.

^e Clarke’s Harmer, ch. iv. ob. 37.

table their water is often acidulated with sherbet, of which they have various kinds; but the most common is from lemons thickened to the consistence of a syrup. Wine, among the modern inhabitants of Palestine, is publicly prohibited by the Koran, but privately indulged in. Anciently, however, there was no restraint, for it was thought to rejoice the heart of God and man, was kept in new leathern bottles, as our Saviour remarks,^a and was cooled then, as it is now, by the snow of Mount Libanus, which is annually carried two or three days journey covered with straw.^b Hence the words of Solomon, in Prov. xxv. 13. "As the cold of snow in the time of harvest, so is a faithful messenger to those who send him, for he refresheth the soul of his masters;" evidently alluding to their custom of cooling wine; for it is considered by Solomon as gratifying, which is true, when applied to that practice in the heat of a Syrian harvest; but it would have been quite the reverse, had snow fallen actually in harvest, which it never does. Jeremiah hath a reference to the same thing, when he says in ch. xviii. 14, "Will a man leave the snows of Lebanon? or shall the cold flowing waters that come from another place be forsaken? Because my people have forgotten me."

From their modern method of keeping wine, not in casks but in flaggons or jars, it is commonly thick and muddy;^c and the same appears to have been the case in ancient times: for we read in Is. xxv. 6, of "wine on the land well refined," and in the Septuagint translation of Amos vi. 6, of *οἶνον δαλισμενον*, or filtered wine, which is the very method taken at present to render it pure, viz. by straining it through a cloth.^d—In great

^a Matt. ix. 17.

^b Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 1098.

^c D'Arvieux, p. 197, 198.

^d Harm. Ob. vol. i. p. 373, &c.

houses there was commonly a cup-bearer, who took charge of the wine, and poured it out to the guests;^a but in ordinary life every one had a cup of wine placed before him, to partake of when he pleased. The author of this work has seen four of Tippoo's banqueting cups; they were of pure gold, of the size and shape of small tea cups, and, from the stationary nature of eastern customs, might, perhaps, resemble the banqueting cups of king Ahasuerus, or some of the kings of Judah or Israel.

In Cant. viii. 2, we read of "spiced or perfumed wine of the juice of the pomegranate," with which the spouse wished to treat the bridegroom. This was different from the intoxicating draught of wine mingled with myrrh, which was given to malefactors immediately before execution, to render them insensible; and rather resembled the medicated wines of the East, which they take a pleasure in compounding. Thus Chateaubriand, when at Athens, tells us, that "in almost all Greece it is more or less the custom to infuse the cones of the pine in the wine-vats, and this communicates to the liquor a bitter and aromatic taste, to which it is some time before you become habituated."^b The modern Greeks and Egyptians use sugar, made with the sweet scented violet, in their sherbets, especially when they intend to entertain their guests in an elegant manner; and the grantees sometimes add ambergris, as the highest pitch of luxury and indulgence.^c From the juice of the pomegranate being mentioned by the spouse, we have ground to believe that the most highly esteemed wine, at the court of Solomon, was of that description.—These wines, however, were only used on extraordinary occasions. Their ordinary beverage was wine, pure, without any

^a Gen. xl. 9. 11. Nch. i. 11. ^b Travels, vol. i. p. 194. ^c Hasselquist, p. 254.

admixture even of water. Thus Thevenot says of the Persians, that they drank their wine pure, like the people of the Levant, taking a large draught of water now and then to abate its strength;^a and accordingly the adulteration of wine is noticed in Is. i. 22, as descriptive of a degradation of character, "Thy wine is mixed with water."

Such are the observations I have thought proper to make on the entertainments of the East. They cannot be considered as an exact picture of Jewish manners, but they afford us an approximation, and open the mind to habits of life widely different from our own. There are still a few other particulars which should not be overlooked. It was formerly shown, when treating of the passover, that the Jews washed before meals, and lay in a reclining posture: we may now add, that the people of the East put off their sandals at their meals, delight to have their tables decorated with the flowers of the season, and have the apartments often filled with perfume. At the courts of their chiefs also, they have two kinds of feasts; the one private, as being the ordinary entertainment of the king; the other public, on stated days, called majilis in Barbary; and in the ancient court of Israel the same thing seems to have obtained: for David, at the new moons, sat at Saul's table,^b and Mephibosheth at David's,^c which accounts for the command of David to Ziba, the servant of Mephibosheth, to bring the produce of his master's lands to Jerusalem, for the support of his master at other times. On these days of feasting they had distinguishing dresses, a circumstance alluded to in Eccl. ix. 7, 8. And in Eccles. xxxii. 1—6. xlix. 1, we read of a master of a feast being appointed not only to weddings, as in

^a Part ii. ch. 10.

^b 1 Sam. xx. 25.

^c 2 Sam. ix. 13.

John ii. 8, but to common entertainments, who was crowned with flowers, presided at the feast, and enlivened the meeting with concerts of music. Isaiah, in alluding to this, says of the Jews, that "they had the harp and the viol, and the tabret and pipe, and wine at their feasts."^a But Amos gives the most complete picture of a luxurious entertainment in ch. vi. 4—6, when he says, that "they lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall; that they chant to the sound of the viol, and invent to themselves instruments of music, like David; that they drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the chief ointment; but they are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph."

In former times, portions were sent to those who were absent;^b and it should ever be recollected that the men and the women in higher life had separate tables,^c as is the case in the East at the present day. One of the questions that was put to an European in high rank in India, by the *rannic*, or principal wife of a chief, was, whether she had been rightly informed, when she was told that the wives of the Europeans ate with their husbands? And when he answered in the affirmative, she expressed the greatest astonishment.

The custom also of the Arabs, who never preserve fragments of their meals, but invite the poor to partake of them,^d may explain to us the reason why Tobit sent for the poor to partake of his dinner,^e and why the poor, the maimed, and the blind, were invited to the rich man's supper, in Luke xiv. 21.

The most ancient example that is, perhaps, to be met

^a Ch. v. 12.

^b Neh. viii. 10. 12. Esther ix. 22.

^c Esther i. 9.

^d Pococke, vol. i. p. 57.

^e Ch. ii. 2.

with of a grace, or short prayer before meat, is at the feast which Ptolomy Philadelphus gave to the seventy-two interpreters; and it is thus mentioned by Josephus: "When they were thus sat down, he (viz. Nicanor, who had been appointed by Ptolomy) bade Dorotheus attend to all those that were come to him from Judea, after the manner they used to be ministered unto in their own country. For which cause he sent away their sacred heralds, and those that slew the sacrifices, and the rest that used to say grace; but called to one of those that were come to him, whose name was Eleazar, who was a priest, and desired him to say grace, who then stood in the midst of them and prayed, 'That all prosperity might attend the king, and those that were his subjects.' Hereupon an acclamation was made by the whole company, and when that was over they began to sup."^a The next example we have is the practice of the Essenes both before and after meat in Josephus' Jewish War.^b The next is that of our Saviour, in Mark viii. 6. John vi. 11. 23, and St. Paul, Acts xxvii. 25; and the next is a form of a grace or prayer for Christians at the end of the fifth book of the Apostolical Constitutions, which seems to have been intended both for before and after meat.

Having said this much as to the probable manner in which the ancient Jews might have lived, I shall add from Buxtorff that of the modern Jews, in those countries especially where they are most populous.—They are very particular, he informs us, not only in the selection of the articles of food, but in the manner of preparing them. As to the selection of food, those beasts only are eaten which have the hoof divided, and chew the cud, as oxen and sheep; fishes that have fins and

^a Antiq. xii. 2.

^b Lib. ii. cap. 8.

scales, &c. They do not eat the fat of the inwards and kidneys; have a book with directions for killing; and the butcher who can fulfil them gets a certificate from a Rabbi as to his qualifications for the business, which commonly procures him much employment. The certificate is as follows: "To-day (in such a month and year) I saw and examined the excellent and remarkable N, the son of N, and found him skilled in the art of killing, both by word and hand, therefore I permit him to kill and examine cattle; and whatsoever he hath killed and examined, may be freely eaten, on this condition, that for a year to come he shall once every week peruse diligently the directions for killing and examining; the second year once a month; and during the rest of his life every three months only. Attested by Rabbi M." In examining the faults of cattle, particular attention is paid to the lungs; and if the butcher is found negligent, he is admonished the first time, and his certificate taken from him the second.^a With respect to their manner of preparing their victuals, their culinary utensils are either bought new, or if of metal or stone, at second hand, they undergo the purification of fire and water.^b They have two kinds of vessels for the kitchen and table, the one for flesh, and the other for preparations of milk. The vessels for milk have three distinct marks, because Moses hath thrice said, "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk." Sometimes, however, they write the words חֵלֶב, *Heleb*, milk, and בֶּשֶׁר, *Besher*, flesh, to show the distinction. They have also two knives to each, the one for flesh, and the other for cheese and fish: if they use the one instead of the other by mistake, it undergoes a strict purification. Preparations of flesh, and prepa-

^a Synag. Jud. cap. 36.^b Numb. xxxi. 23.

rations of milk, are not cooked together on the same fire, nor brought to table at the same time, and they have distinct table-cloths for each. He who eats of flesh, or of broth made of flesh, ought not to eat cheese for an hour after, and those who affect piety abstain for six hours; but if he eat cheese first, he may eat flesh immediately after. If fat fall into a dish of milk, it becomes unclean; but flesh may be never so fat and yet eaten. The eggs of clean birds are only eaten. Flesh and fish are not brought to table at the same time—they even wash the mouth between them, or eat fruit, or a crust of bread. No milk that has been drawn by a Christian, or cheese or butter that has been made by one, is permitted; and they refrain from drinking from a covered well, for fear of poisonous animals.* As to their preparation of bread, we may remark, that as it is said in Num. xv. 20, “Ye shall offer up a cake of the first of your dough for a heave offering,” therefore at every baking they separate a portion called חלה, *Helè*, which, as they cannot now offer to the Lord, they throw into the fire. The size of a grain of barley is sufficient; but the wise men had fixed upon the 40th part for private families, and the 48th for bakers. These last, however, are considered only to have been binding while the temple stood, and the priesthood required maintenance, for a small portion now is reckoned sufficient, and they even find no difficulty in some countries of eating bread that hath been baked by Christians.^b Indeed, when we inquire into the customs of modern Jews, we find them much affected by local circumstances; for the Jews in Germany have usages different from those in Britain, and the same may be said of other places.

* Synag. Judaic. cap. 33.

^b Synag. Jud. cap. 34.

SECT. VI.

Rank and Employments of the Jewish Women.

The state of women before christianity very degrading. Condition of Jewish women in pastoral, agricultural, and commercial situations. Grinding corn every morning; managing the concerns of the family; feeding cattle; carrying water; working with the needle; spinning; weaving; tapestry.

IN times prior to the days of our Saviour, the state of women in society was much below what it ought to have been, among the Egyptians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans: they were too often the slaves of men's pleasures, or the drudges of their families. Some individuals, indeed, distinguished themselves by their superior talents; but it is mortifying to observe, that the most celebrated of these were women of no character, who prostituted themselves at the shrine of ambition or avarice. In the land of Judea, the female character appears to have been somewhat more exalted. Their purer religion had taught that people that they were rational and immortal, and therefore entitled to their love and confidence; yet there were several circumstances which tended to counteract the natural operation of these benevolent principles: for the traditions of the elders were more regarded than the divine institute; divorce was obtained for the most frivolous reasons, and the general practice of polygamy, by rendering women the appendages to rank, or the instruments of pleasure, tended to degrade them in the scale of society. It was reserved for the gospel to do them complete justice, by restoring the primitive institution of marriage; by teaching the equality of the sexes as to moral worth; and by considering them both as candidates for a blessed and glorious immortality. From that time, therefore, we can trace a growing amelioration in

their condition in every nation where the gospel has been introduced, and are led to wish for the general diffusion of christianity, as the triumph of virtue and piety over oppression.

The land of Judea was divided anciently into pasturage, agriculture, and commerce, and each of these gave a different shade to the female character. In the pastoral districts, even those of the highest rank disdained not to tend their flocks, and conversed freely with men without their veils. Rachel was feeding her father's sheep when met by Jacob;^a and the daughters of the priest of Midian were employed in the same way when met by Moses.^b In the agricultural districts, the lower classes generally mixed in the operations of the field, but the higher orders were more reserved. And in cities, where commerce prevailed, they had not only separate apartments, but were more removed from public view, whilst the apartments of the wives of the great seem to have resembled the modern harems.—In tracing the employments of the Jewish women, we may begin with remarking, that the first business of the wives of the poor, and of the meanest female slaves of the rich, every morning at daybreak, was (like the twelve female slaves of Penelope, *Odyss.* xx. 107.) to grind the daily portion of corn for meal for the family in the hand-mill; a business which those in the same condition perform in the East at this day, as I have more than once had occasion to notice. This grinding of corn by females is several times mentioned in Scripture. Thus, when the first born of Egypt were destroyed, it is remarked, that the calamity extended “from the first born of Pharaoh that sat on the throne, even unto the first born of the maid servant that was behind the mill;”^c and when Christ

^a Gen. xxix. 9.

^b Exod. ii. 16.

^c Exod. xi. 5.

foretold the destruction of Jerusalem, he said,^a that "two women should be grinding at the mill, the one taken and the other left:" which last circumstance is thus explained by Dr. Clarke: "As the operation began, one of the women, with her right hand, pushed the handle to the woman opposite, who again sent it to her companion, thus communicating a rotatory and very rapid motion to the upper stone, their left hands being all the while employed in supplying fresh corn, as fast as the bran and flour escaped from the sides of the machine:"^b—Let me also add, that the Scriptures notice the silence of the hand-mills at daybreak throughout the Jewish cities, as a mark of desolation. Thus in Jer. xxv. 10, it is said, "I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride, the sound of the mill-stones, and the light of the candle; and this whole land shall be a desolation and an astonishment;" and in Rev. xviii. 22, when the destruction of Babylon is foretold, the same images are made use of. "The sound of a mill-stone shall be heard no more at all in thee; and the light of a candle shall shine no more at all in thee; and the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride shall be heard no more at all in thee." But, leaving this their early task, let us go on to remark, that the cares of the family naturally occupied the Hebrew females through the rest of the day. This is, indeed, the present employment of the eastern women. The rich may indulge in idleness, but the wives of the poor provide food for the family, cut fuel, and fetch water, which last office may point out to us the degrading punishment inflicted by Joshua on the Gibeonites: for not receiving them as allies was bad; the disarming those who had been war-

^a Matt. xxiv. 41. Luke xvii. 35.

^b Travels, part ii. chap. 11.

riors, and reducing them to the employment of women, was worse; but the condemning their posterity to the same servile employment was worst of all. It was just now said that the water needed by the families of the Jews was brought by the women, and it may be worthy of notice, that Homer mentions the same custom as prevailing among the Phæacians, Lestrigons, and Ithacans,^a in the first of which passages *παρθενίῃ—νενηιδι κάλῃν ἐχούσῃ*, “a youthful virgin bearing a pitcher,” might serve for a description of Rebekah in Genesis xxiv. 15, 16: in the second, we find even a king’s daughter employed in the business of drawing water; whilst, in the third, no fewer than twenty virgins repair to the public well to fetch water for washing the sacrifice to Apollo. Nor was this merely an ancient custom, for the same thing is done by the eastern females at this day. Thus Dr. Shaw,^b when speaking of the occupations of the Moorish women in Barbary, says, “To finish the day, at the time of the evening, even at the time that the women go out to draw water,^c they still fit themselves with a pitcher or goat’s skin, and tying their sucking children behind them, trudge it in this manner two or three miles to fetch water.”—But though the chief time of carrying water be the evening, it is not the only time, for they do it early in the morning also, none stirring out when the sun is high except from necessity;^d and when they go, they have their ear-rings, nose jewels, and ornaments for their wrists and ancles. Indeed they never appear in public without these appendages of female dress.^e—I may add, that Rebekah’s pitcher was an earthen vessel, for so the original word *ק*, *Ked*, signifies; and if such, it perhaps

^a Odyss. vii. 20. x. 105, 106. xx. 158.

^b Travels, p. 421.

^c Gen. xxiv. 11.

^d Chardin, MS. vol. vi. quoted by Harmer.

^e Clarke’s Harmer, ch. iv. ob. 61.

resembled those which Dr. Chandler saw used by the women in Asia Minor. "The women," says he, "resort to the fountains by their houses, each with a large two-handled earthen jar on the back, or thrown over the shoulder for water."^a As he mentions this when speaking of another of their domestic employments, that of washing the clothes of the family, I shall transcribe the passage: "Although the women," says he, "live very retired, this operation is performed in public, at the fountains by the houses, or by river sides, where they have their faces veiled, and commonly in great numbers together." In Europe this operation is considered a menial employment, but it was not so anciently; for Nausicaa, the daughter of Alcinous, the king of Phæacia, went to those cisterns at a distance from the city, where the damsels were wont to wash their garments, to wash her brother's robes and her own, as preparatory to her marriage.^b

We read in Jer. ii. 22, of their using nitre, or the natrum of the ancients, which was a fixed alkali, and soap, for these purposes. And in Job ix. 30, snow water, or, as it is in the original, Borith, or Berith, in place of soap, which M. de Goguet^c imagines to be "the saltwort, a plant very common in Syria, Judea, Egypt, and Arabia. They burn it, he says, and pour water upon the ashes. This water becomes impregnated with a very strong lixivial salt, proper for taking stains or impurities out of wool or cloth." Perhaps it meant not one particular plant only, but the salt derived from the ashes of all those vegetables in general, which, by being burnt, produce potash.

But we are not to suppose that domestic cares engaged all their time, for various employments occupied

^a Page 21.

^b Odyss. vi. 58.

^c Origin of Laws, vol. i. book ii. ch. 2.

the attention of the mistress of the family and her maidens. Thus, working with the needle was another of their female employments. And so early as the time when the Israelites were in the wilderness, we find them employed in ornamenting the hangings of the tabernacle, and the garments of the priests, with devices of blue and purple and scarlet, on a ground of fine white twined linen.^a It would appear that the eastern needle-work was very fine, and of great value; for the mother of Sisera^b is represented as hoping that her son had obtained from the conquered Israelites “a prey of divers colours of needle-work; of divers colours of needle-work on both sides, meet for the necks of them that take the spoil.” And in Ps. xlv. 14, the king’s daughter is said to be brought unto the king in raiment of needle-work. Indeed the same is the frequent employment of the ladies of the East at the present day, for we often read of beautiful specimens of their work. Thus Chardin mentions that they take a pleasure in ornamenting handkerchiefs with a needle, which they either wear themselves, or give in presents to their relations and friends;^c and Lady Mary W. Montagu, in her Letters,^d says, that “they still pass much of their time in embroidering veils and robes, surrounded by their maids.”—Spinning was another of their employments, for even so early as the making of the tabernacle, all the women that were wise hearted did spin with their hands, and brought what they had spun, both of blue, of purple, and of scarlet, and of fine linen, to assist in the erection of that sacred tent; which shows that they had brought with them from Egypt this and the other arts mentioned in Exodus, in which country, it is probable, they had

^a Exod. xxvi. 36. xxviii. 39.

^b Judg. v. 30.

^c MS. vol. vi.

^d Vol. ii. p. 44, 45.

long flourished. We hear little more of this employment till Solomon's time, who in Prov. xxxi. 19, when describing the good housewife, says, that "she lays her hands to the spindle, and takes hold of the distaff."^a It is impossible for us to ascertain exactly the forms of the ancient implements of art, for we have only a few notices given of them in Scripture; but every one who has seen eastern paintings by native artists, must have been struck with their simplicity, and must have felt persuaded, that however much the order of casts in Hindostan hath tended to degrade the moral character of that numerous people, it hath much improved their manufactures, by the subdivision of labour, and the transmission of trades from father to son. In the present case they are simple and suitable, and might not be unlike to those of the ancient Jews.

Weaving was another feminine employment, and, like spinning, it was a very ancient one; for it is mentioned in Exod. xxxv. 35, that God filled some with wisdom to weave the curtains of the tabernacle, and it is often alluded to in other parts of Scripture. In general this art is understood to have been practised by the women, and the following are the arguments which may be adduced: 1st, When Samson was accused by Delilah for concealing from her where his great strength lay, he said, that if she wove the seven locks of his head with the web, he would become like other men; and it is added, that she fastened them with the pin; which intimates, that women then wrought at the loom.^b 2dly, It is well known that among the ancient Greeks, weaving was the employment of the women. Thus Homer describes Helen as seated at her loom;^c and Penelope's web is even proverbial.^d In the third place, It is also

^a Exod. xxxv. 25.

^b Judg. xvi. 13, 14.

^c Iliad iii. 125.

^d Odys. ii. 94. vi. 52. 306.

known that at present weaving is commonly the employment of the women in the East. Thus Dr. Shaw informs us, that "carpets are made in Barbary and the Levant in great numbers, and of all sizes, but coarser than in Turkey. Their chief manufacture, however, is the making of hykes, or blankets. The women are employed in this work (as Andromache and Penelope were of old,) who do not use the shuttle, but conduct every thread of the woof with their fingers."^a And in the Indian paintings, which the author of this work hath seen, as descriptive of their casts, trades, customs, &c. by native artists, the women were represented as sitting with a loom before them, and conducting the woof through the threads of the warp in the very manner Dr. Shaw describes.—It was this last circumstance, of their using their fingers in place of a shuttle, which made Mr. Harmer doubt whether the passage in Job was rightly translated, which says,^b "My days are swifter than a weaver's shuttle;" he rather supposing that it should be "My days are swifter than the fingers of a weaver, when passing and repassing rapidly through the threads." The matter itself is of small consequence, since the meaning in both cases is the same; only I may observe, that although shuttles are not used at present in the East, they were in use in Homer's time, for the *κρηπίς*, or shuttle was employed by the ancient Greeks.* Of all their specimens in the art of weaving, however, their tapestry was the most beautiful. Perhaps the original kind was composed of pieces of cloth of different colours sewed together, so as to imitate figures of men, animals, and vegetables: but the most elegant were wrought in the loom, and reckoned of great value. Thus

* Page 224.

^b Ch. vii. 6.

* Iliad xxii. 440. 448. Odyss. v. 62.

the dissolute woman, in order to captivate unwary youth, is represented^a as having her bed decked with coverings of tapestry, and the virtuous wife, in the same book,^b is said to have made herself coverings of the same stuff, evidently showing that productions of that kind were in great request. The modern tapestry was borrowed from the Saracens, who it is likely, received it from ages farther remote; so that, making some allowance for modern improvements, the present tapestry of France and England may not be unlike to that of Judea. I ought to add that tapestry, formed of pieces of cloth, is still made in the East: for thus Sir John Chardin^c tells us, that "tailors, besides their ordinary work, make cushions, veils for doors, and other pieces of furniture of felt, in mosaic work, which represents just what they please; and this is done so neatly, that a man might suppose the figures were painted, instead of being a kind of inlaid work. Look as close as you will," says he, "the joinings cannot be seen."

SECT. VII.

Jewish Manner of Travelling.

Disposition of their dress: never travelled in the heat of the day but from necessity; saluted no person when in haste; feet washed when they entered a house. Rode on asses, horses, mules, camels, and dromedaries; had no stirrups; used hirans and coumes; provender for their animals; provisions for themselves; articles of convenience and commerce. Skins for water; every article carried in skins. Distance measured by hours; wells the common resting-places; these often infested by robbers; no inns; khanes, or caravan-sarais. Caravans; manner of travelling; sometimes very numerous. Kings travelled in state; had the dust allayed with water; harbingers sent before them, and pioneers to level the roads. Customs observed by the modern Jews on a journey.

1. WHEN any of the Jews travelled on foot, they com-

^a Prov. vii. 16.

^b Prov. xxxi. 22.

^c Voy. tome ii. p. 85.

monly tucked up their long upper robe with their girdle, so as to leave the leg and knee bare, had a scrip round their neck for their provisions, a staff in their hand, shoes or sandals on their feet, and when they were going to a distance, they also carried a change of raiment, and sometimes a jar or skin bottle filled with water.^a But when our Saviour sent his apostles to preach the gospel through the cities of Judea, he forbade them to take any of these, as their itinerancy was not to be of long continuance, and the labourer was worthy of his hire.^b It was also a custom with those on a journey, never to travel in the heat of the day but from necessity, since the violence of the sun's rays generally invited to rest and sleep; neither did they, when in haste, salute any who met them, since the eastern forms of salutation are often tedious. Hence Elisha's injunction to his servant Gehazi, to salute no man by the way, when he ran to lay his master's staff on the face of the Shunamite's dead son, till himself should arrive.^c And when they reached their lodging for the night, it was usual for the master of the house to give them water to wash their feet.^d Thus Sir John Chardin tells us,^e that "the sweat and dust which penetrate all kinds of coverings for the feet, produce a filth there which excites a very troublesome itching; and though the eastern people are extremely careful to preserve the body clean, it is more for refreshment than cleanliness that they wash their feet at the end of a journey." But travellers had not always friends with whom to lodge in the places to which they went, and therefore it was usual for them to wait at the gate, or in the street, till some

^a Gen. xxi. 14.

^b Luke ix. 3.

^c 2 Kings iv. 29.

^d Gen. xviii. 4. Judg. xix. 21. Luke vii. 44.

^e MS. vol. 6. quoted by Harmer. See also Shaw's Travels, p. 238.

person invited them, as the angels were by Lot,^a and the Levite by the old man.^b Indeed something like this is experienced in the East at this day; for Park^c tells us, that “as there are no public houses in Africa, it is customary for strangers to stand at the Bentang, or some other place of public resort, till they are invited to a lodging by some of the inhabitants.” We may add that in many situations it was accounted dangerous to be exposed to the dews of the night, but not always; for at certain seasons of the year they were in the habit of doing so without inconvenience. Thus the shepherds of Bethlehem watched their flocks by night, and travellers have frequently made the earth their bed, and the canopy of heaven their covering. Accordingly Dr. Shaw tells us,^d that “in his journey between Cairo and Mount Sinai, the heavens were their covering every night; the sand, with a carpet spread over it, their bed; and a change of raiment, made up into a bundle, their pillow; and that, although wet to the skin every night by the dew, there was not the least danger.”

2. When the Jews travelled in greater style, they had either asses or horses, or mules or camels, or dromedaries. Thus Abraham, Balaam, Achsah, the daughter of Caleb, and one infinitely greater than all of these, viz. our blessed Lord, rode upon asses.^e But white asses seem to have been most in request, and a mark of superior rank, for the judges are said to have rode on them.^f—As for horses, they are very frequently mentioned in Scripture. Mules also were often used as means of conveyance. Thus some of the posts that were sent by Ahasuerus to defeat the decree of Haman against the Jews rode upon mules :^g the Jews were to be brought

^a Gen. xix. 2.

^b Judges xix. 15—21.

^c Travels in Africa, ch. 4.

^d Preface, 11.

^e Gen. xxii. 3. Num. xxii. 21. Josh. xv. 18. Matt. xxi. 7.

^f Judg. v. 10.

^g Esth. viii. 10.

back to their own land on mules ;^a the Israelites who returned from the captivity had 245 of them ;^b a rate of them was brought year by year to king Solomon ;^c and they were an article of traffic in the fairs of Togarmah, in the lesser Asia,^d being considered more sure-footed than horses.* Camels were very numerous in the East. The Hagarites, and their neighbours whom the two tribes and a half subdued, had 50,000 :^f Job, as an individual, had 3000 ;^g and every one knows how generally they were used, especially in long journeys, as means of conveying individuals and families.^h Their common rate of travelling is about thirty miles a day, at the rate of thirteen hours to the day, or two miles and a third an hour ; and the reason of their slowness is partly occasioned by their being loaded, and going in company, where they wait for each other ; and partly because they are perpetually nibbling at every thing they can find in their way as food.—But when speed was at any time required by the ancients, they commonly preferred the dromedaries, which travelled at the rate of a hundred miles a day, and were therefore used by the posts which were sent by Ahasuerus.ⁱ We have no account of the manner in which they travelled on these animals in the times of Scripture, but it was probably much the same as is done in the East at the present day, for the customs of the East are remarkably stationary. I may notice, then, that they sometimes ride on asses, horses, and mules, without any covering,

^a Is. lxvi. 20. ^b Ezra ii. 66. ^c 1 Kings x. 25. ^d Ezek. xxvii. 14.

* The following extract from Captain Light's Travels into the Holy Land, 1814, will show the manner in which the people in the East often make use of these hardy animals : " The way in which the women and old men are carried to Jerusalem is singular : a wicker basket with seats is attached to each side of the mule, and the travellers arranged in pairs. I have seen four persons on one mule." Page 142.

^f 1 Chron. v. 21. ^g Ch. i. 3. ^h Gen. xxiv. 10. xxxi. 35. ⁱ Esth. viii. 10.

except that the women wear a veil, and have a man on foot to drive the animal,^a like the Shunamite;^b that they have no stirrups to their saddles. Chateaubriand, amongst others, telling us that in riding on horses from Jaffa or Joppa to Jerusalem, "pads served them for saddles, and cords instead of stirrups;"^c and that when they ride on camels they have a *hiran*, or piece of cloth, about six ells long, which is laid upon the wooden saddle, to make the seat more easy, and which serves as a mattress to lie on while they rest during the night, their wallets answering the purpose of bolsters.^d These are the ways in which they ride when single; but when they travel with their families, they have large oxier baskets, suspended from the sides of the camels, covered with a cloth, to exclude the sun and rain, commonly called *counes*, into which they put the women and children.^e

The provisions for a journey are different, according to circumstances, but they may all be comprehended under the four following, viz. provender and litter for the animals; provisions for the travellers; articles of convenience; and articles of commerce.—With respect to the first, their common provender was barley and chopped straw,^f made into balls, and sometimes beans, and the pounded kernels of dates,^g for they make no hay in those countries; and as for litter, it is commonly the animal's own dung, dried in the sun, and bruised in the hands, when they are not actually on a journey, for straw is too scarce; and in too much request ever to be applied in that way. Nay, so much are they in need of even dried dung for litter, that they take it

^a Pococke, vol. i. p. 191. ^b 2 Kings iv. 24. ^c Travels, vol. i. p. 342.

^d La Roque, p. 127. ^e Harm. Ob. vol. i. p. 445. Russell's Alep. p. 89.

^f 1 Kings iv. 28. ^g Maillet, lett. 9.

up in the morning, dry it anew through the day, apply it again in the evening, and in summer sprinkle it with water to keep it from corrupting.^a As for their own provisions, the easterns have always lived much on milk and meal, dried fruits, oil and wine.^b Preparations, therefore, of these, with an animal slain as occasion required, and when in haste some prepared meat, of beef dried and reduced to a kind of meal,^c or potted flesh, such as Dr. Shaw took for his journey through the Arabian deserts,^d formed their common food. All these, however, required, some utensils; accordingly they had small wooden bowls, in which they kneaded their dough, and served up their victuals when cooked.^e They have also in these countries a round leathern coverlet, which they lay on the ground to eat upon, and which, having rings round the edge, they draw together with a chain, and make use of to carry their dough. Indeed the whole kitchen furniture of an Arab consists of a wooden bowl, some brass dishes of different sizes to go within each other, and this skin bag.^f As for water, if the wells be near each other, they content themselves with taking it as they pass; but as this is not often the case, they have commonly a sufficient number of skin bottles, formed of untanned hides, lapped round frames of wicker work, and formed into a neck, in which they carry a sufficient supply; but these skins are apt to give it an oily taste, unless carefully washed with salt before they are used. The gerbas Mr. Bruce had in Abyssinia held sixty gallons each, and two of them loaded a camel.^g By articles of convenience in travelling, I mean those articles, besides food, which were thought necessary, as

^a D'Arvieux, p. 168.

^b Judith x. 5. ^c Busbequius, Epist. 3.

^d Travels, Pref. 11.

^e Shaw, l'preface, 11, 12, 13.

^f Pococke, vol. i. p. 182.

^g Shaw's Abridg. p. 329.

changes of raiment, presents for individuals, &c. And as for articles of commerce, these consisted in all those productions of nature and of art which one country exchanged with or purchased from another.—I may remark, however, that they carry every article in goat or kid skins, to preserve them from dust and insects; and that these, for greater security, are inclosed in large coarse woollen sacks, called *tambellit*, covered with leather from the middle to the foot.—In travelling they never measure distance by miles, but by hours, equal to two miles and a third, because the camel travels at that rate, and their common resting-places are at wells. Hence, in a set of instructions given in Sir Robert Wilson's account of the British expedition in Egypt, the distance between the wells is particularly mentioned; but these are often infested by the Arabs, who lurk near them to rob the unwary traveller,^a and hence Jer. iii. 2, "In the ways hast thou sat for them, as the Arabian in the wilderness." These descendants of Ishmael, indeed, are a singular nation, for although they rob travellers where they chance to meet them, yet if these strangers commit themselves to them through the night, they will treat them most hospitably. Accordingly Dr. Shaw tells us, that travellers take advantage of this feature in their character, for they commonly, in the temperate season of the year, arise at break of day, set forward with the sun, and travel till the middle of the afternoon, when they begin to look out for an encampment of Arabs to receive hospitality.^b This time of the afternoon is expressed in Judges xix. 9, by saying, that "the day groweth to an end," or in the original, that "it is pitching time of day." In the hot season, how-

^a Judg. v. 11.^b Page 17.

ever, they frequently travel in the night, pitch in the forenoon, and proceed in the afternoon.

We should notice farther on this subject, that even in the eastern cities they have nothing that corresponds with the inns of this country. Persons of note, indeed, find accommodation every where, but travellers of less consideration put up for the night in an unfurnished house, often not water tight, with only an outer door, which is shut during the night to prevent theft, and called in these countries a caravansaray, khan, simsera, or manzil. There they either prepare their own provisions, or receive a supply from the sheik of the place.*

Hitherto we have spoken only of individuals or small companies travelling in the East, but they sometimes travel in large numbers, called caravans, which are either formed for the purposes of commerce or religion. The mercantile caravans have a certain route, according to the particular views of the persons who compose them. Before the road to India was known by the Cape of Good Hope, immense caravans travelled annually from India to Egypt with the produce of the East, to be transported across the Mediterranean to the countries of Europe; and even at the present day, the greater part of the commerce of the East is carried on by caravans. But as there are caravans formed for commerce, so there are also several regularly formed for the purposes of religion. Thus four go annually to Mecca; the first of which is from Damascus, composed of the pilgrims of Europe and Asia; the second from Cairo, for the Mahometans of Barbary; the third from Zebith, near the mouth of the Red Sea, where those of Arabia and India meet; and the fourth from Babylon, where the Persians assemble. The reason of their travelling

* La Roque, p. 67. Niebuhr, tom. i. p. 314.

in such numbers is for defence against the Arabs, and other robbers who waylay them, and endeavour to despoil them of a part of their wealth; and as they commonly require some time to collect, so it is customary for the merchants to send their goods to some place of rendezvous^a to be ready against the time of departing; nor do they travel at random when they set out, for they commonly travel four camels abreast, and are divided into cottars, or companies, who have each their peculiar standards, formed of iron work, like a grate on the top of a pole, whose shape through the day, and flame through the night, when filled with fuel, direct the merchants or pilgrims to what company they belong.^b These caravans are sometimes very numerous; that from Egypt to Mecca, in 1697, consisted of 100,000 souls, according to Maillet, and nearly as many camels. The camels and horses have often bells suspended from their necks, and the road is not unfrequently beguiled by songs and music. It was in allusion to this eastern way of travelling, that Laban complained of Jacob that he had stolen away so privately as to deny him the pleasure of sending him away with mirth and with songs, with tabret and with harp.^c

The most ancient commercial caravan that we read of in Scripture was that which purchased Joseph of his brethren,^d where, although only two companies appear in our translation, there are three in the original, viz. the Ishmaelites, or descendants of Ishmael, in verse 25; the Midianites, (מִדְיָנִים) or descendants of Midian, the fourth son of Abraham by Keturah, in verse 28; and the Medanites (מִדְיָנִים) in verse 36, improperly rendered Midianites in our version, which Medan was

^a Clarke's Harmer, ch. 5. ob. 4. 6.

^b Harmer's Ob. vol. i. p. 472, &c. Hasselquist, p. 77—83.

^c Gen. xxxi. 27.

^d Gen. xxxvii. 25, &c.

the third son of Abraham by Keturah,^a and lived in the neighbourhood of Midian. Thus their caravan consisted of three distinct companies, and their merchandize was spicery, balm, and myrrh.—We read, long afterwards, of the labour of Egypt, and the merchandize of Ethiopia, and of the Sabeans coming to Judea.^b Many caravans with merchandize went also to Tyre, during the period of her glory, as the general mart of nations;^c and in many passages of Scripture do we read of merchants travelling from place to place to dispose of their merchandize.—As for religious caravans or companies, we have none mentioned in Scripture that exactly resemble the caravans to Mecca; but we have several examples of multitudes travelling from one place to another. Thus the Israelites, in their journey from Egypt to Canaan, had all the regularity of a caravan, and the Jews which returned from Babylon under Ezra and Nehemiah, would naturally take precautions to preserve order among such a multitude.

It seldom happens that eastern monarchs make long journeys, the influence of the climate and immemorial usage keeping them commonly retired in their palaces, but when they do go abroad it is with great magnificence; and in former times harbingers were sent to prepare all things for their reception, and pioneers to open passes, level inequalities, and remove every impediment. Diodorus's account of Simiramis's marches into Media and Persia, will give us a clear notion of the preparation of the way for a royal expedition. "In her march to Ecbatane, she came to the Zarcean mountain, which extending many furlongs, and being full of craggy precipices and deep hollows, could not be passed without taking a great compass about. Being, therefore, desi-

^a Gen. xxv. 2.

^b Is. xlv. 14.

^c Ezek. xxvii. 9, &c.

rous of leaving an everlasting memorial of herself, as well as of shortening the way, she ordered the precipices to be digged down, and the hollows to be filled up; and at a great expense she made a shorter and more expeditious road, which to this day is called from her the road of Semiramis. Afterward she went into Persia, and all the other countries of Asia subject to her dominion, and wherever she went she ordered the mountains and precipices to be levelled, raised causeways in the plain country, and at a great expense made the roads passable." Long after Semiramis, Josephus,* when speaking of Titus, says, that "there went before him the establishment of the king, and all the army, among whom were (*ὁδοποιοι*) the pioneers," literally the makers or levellers of roads. It must be obvious to every one, that this gives a beauty and force to Is. xl. 3, 4. "The voice of one crying in the wilderness, prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain." The words are descriptive of John Baptist, as the harbinger of the Messiah, the king of Zion, before whose presence and religion every difficulty was to disappear.

In the absence of more particular information concerning the manner of travelling among the ancient Jews, I shall add the customs of the modern Jews when taking a journey. They make a valedictory supper the night before. When gone, their remaining relations do not sweep the house for an hour, to distinguish a journey from their manner of carrying out the dead; and when the travellers themselves reach the fourth milestone, they turn round and say, "Let it please thee, O

* Bello, vi. 6.

Lord our God, and the God of our fathers, to lead me out, and cause me to return to my house in peace; to protect me from the hand of the enemy, and of him that lays snares in the way. Take me to my destined place, and make me return home in peace, for thou art the God who hearest prayer. Blessed be thou who hearest prayer." They are enjoined to avoid no tolls, to defraud no person, to throw themselves unnecessarily into no danger, as if God were to work a miracle in their behalf, and never to conceal that they are Jews; and, to show their jealousy of Christians, it is recommended that when walking with one who has a sword, they should keep on his right hand, to see when he drew it; and with one who has a spear on the left for the same reason; that in going up a hill the Jew should precede the Christian, and in coming down should follow, because the highest was thought to have the advantage, although it is evident that in ascending, the danger lay in being wounded before he was aware.*

SECT. VIII.

Jewish Marks of Honour and Disgrace.

1. Marks of honour which servants paid to their masters. Slaves, their price; their submissive attitude; washed the hands of their masters; served him before they ate themselves; servants of different ranks; eunuchs; singing men and singing women.
2. Marks of respect paid by inferiors in general to superiors. Bowing the head; bowing the knee; bowing to the ground; kissing the hand, or what came from it; gave them the chief seat; made yearly presents; allayed the dust before them when travelling: spreading their garments. A spear, or lamps, indicated the tent of a chief.
3. Marks of respect among equals. The salam, or salutation; eastern salutations took up much time; their way of saluting when at a distance, and when at hand; kissing; falling on the neck; taking hold of the beard. Manner of conducting visits; these held in the court in summer, and house in winter. The entertainment at an eastern visit; sprinkling with rose-water; perfuming the

* Buxtorff, Synag. Judaic. cap. 43.

guests; their signs of mirth. 4. Marks of honour paid to inferiors; those to principal officers; Joseph; Mordecai; changes of raiment; purple robe; gold buckle and clasp; a key on the shoulder a mark of office; explanation of a horn as an emblem of dignity and power; breaking a chain a mark of freedom. 5. Marks of disgrace. Cutting off the beard; plucking off the hair; spitting in the face; clapping the hands, hissing, and wagging the head; gnashing the teeth; speaking evil of one's mother.

IN every country there hath always been a distinction of ranks; and certain marks have been established to show, on the one hand, the respect which an inferior hath for a superior, and, on the other, the honour which a person of noble rank wishes to confer on humble merit. In the East, these marks have been long established, being the same almost now that they were in the times of the Old Testament; so that they serve as a commentary on this part of the Jewish customs.

For the sake of perspicuity, we shall divide our observations into four parts. 1st, Those which servants, or rather slaves, paid to their masters. 2d, Those which inferiors, in general, paid to superiors. 3d, Those which equals showed to each other: and 4th, Those marks of honour which persons of rank were wont to pay to those in a humbler station.

1st, As for the conduct of servants or slaves to their masters, this was most submissive, and from it arose their own peculiar situation, and the general state of society: for servants, among the Jews, were either strangers, meaning by that term persons of other nations who had been taken in war, or bought with money, and accounted property;^a or they were the children of strangers, who had been born in their house, and in the same situation as their parents;^b or they were Hebrews who, being poor, had sold themselves for seven years; or were sold by their creditors to pay their debts; or by their parents

^a Lev. xxv. 44, 45.

^b Gen. xiv. 14.

from necessity.^a Lightfoot^b tells us from Maimonides, that "the stated price of a slave, whether old or young, male or female, was thirty selaas or shekels of good silver, whether he was worth a hundred pounds or only worth a penny." But it is easy to see that the stated would vary much from the real price; since purchasers would be guided often by the age, beauty, and utility, of the person bought. This sum of thirty shekels was the price of a slave, as stated in the law; and in Zechariah xi. 12, 13, it is expressly prophesied as the sum which Judas should receive for betraying his master.^c

The implicit obedience of eastern servants has been frequently remarked by travellers.—Thus Dr. Pococke says, that at a visit in Egypt, "Every thing was done with the greatest decency, and the most profound silence; the slaves or servants standing at the bottom of the room, with their hands joined before them, watching with the utmost attention every motion of their master, who commanded them by signs."^d Savary says, "The slaves, with their hands crossed on their breast, wait in silence at the end of the apartment; and, with their looks fixed on their master, they try to anticipate his least wish."^e And Dr. Russell gives us two prints, in one of which stands a male servant, attending on a Turk of dignity, in that dress, and humble submissive attitude, in which they are accustomed to wait on their masters; and, in the other, a female servant is, in like manner, waiting on her mistress.^f How beautifully, therefore, do these extracts explain the words of the Psalmist:^g "Behold, as the eyes of servants look unto the hand of their masters, and as the eyes of a maiden unto the

^a Lev. xiv. 47—55. Matt. xviii. 25.

^c Compare Matt. xxvi. 15. xxvii. 3—10.

^e Letters on Egypt, p. 135.

^g Psal. cxliii. 2.

^b Harm. of New Test. sect. 81.

^d Newbury Coll. vol. xii. p. 68.

^f Nat. Hist. of Aleppo, p. 101.

hand of her mistress; so our eyes wait upon the Lord our God, until that he have mercy upon us."

Among the several duties of servants mentioned in Scripture, that of pouring water on their master's hands is particularly noticed.—Thus, Elisha's being the attendant or servant of Elijah, is expressed by his pouring water on that prophet's hands.^a Indeed the custom was not peculiar to the Jews, for we find the same office performed by servants in the days of Homer. Thus, Asphalion, the male slave of Menelaus, pours water on the hands of his master and the other guests;^b and, in various parts of the *Odyssey*, female slaves are employed in the same office.^c This custom of pouring water on the hands of superiors is still the practice of the East; for Mr. Hanway,^d when speaking of a Persian supper, says, "Supper being brought in, a servant presented a basin of water, and a napkin hung over his shoulders; he went to every one in the company, and poured water on their hands to wash."

The humanity that is now shown to servants in christian countries would make it appear harsh, to desire a servant, when coming tired from the field, to wait upon his master while he dined, before himself had taken any refreshment; and yet this is not inconsistent with eastern usage, for our Lord supposes such a case in *Luke xvii. 7—9*. "Which of you," says he, "having a servant plowing or feeding cattle, will say unto him by and by, when he is come from the field, Go and sit down to meat? and will not rather say unto him, Make ready where-with I may sup, and gird thyself, and serve me, till I have eaten and drunken; and afterward thou shalt eat

^a 2 Kings iii. 11.

^b *Odys.* iv. 216.

^c *Odys.* i. 136. iv. 52. vii. 172. x. 350. xv. 135. xvii. 91.

^d *Travels*, vol. i. p. 223.

and drink? Doth he thank that servant because he did the things that were commanded him? I trow not.”—In the houses of the great there were many servants, and each had a distinct office, with which none of his fellow servants interfered, and consequently, for the discharge of which he was accountable.—But of all the servants in the courts of kings, during the last period of the Scripture history, the eunuchs appear to have been the most confidential:^a they had no distinct family interest, and the employment of them prevented that jealousy which was often the cause of great evils in the eastern courts. They commonly, therefore, guarded the beds of the eastern despots, their treasures, and their wives.—In the houses of the great, also, were companies of singing men and singing women. Solomon speaks of them in Eccl. ii. 8; and when describing the effects of old age,^b he tells us that, “all the daughters of music shall then be brought low:” meaning, that aged persons, from deafness, and the general decline of their senses and faculties, take little pleasure in music.—Accordingly, Barzillai, the friend of David, when urged to leave the place of his nativity, and spend the evening of his days at the court of that monarch, made this beautiful reply:^c “How long have I to live that I should go up with the king unto Jerusalem? I am this day fourscore years old; and can I discern between good and evil? Can thy servant taste what I eat, or what I drink? Can I hear any more the voice of singing men and singing women? Wherefore then should thy servant be yet a burden unto my lord the king?” Mr. Park^d speaks fully of these singing men as commonly to be met with in Africa, and Dr. Clarke in his Travels repeatedly notices the

^a Dan. i. 3. 8. Acts viii. 27.

^b Eccl. xii. 4.

^c 2 Sam. xix. 34, 35.

^d Travels in Africa, chap. iv. 6. 20.

almehs or singing women of Egypt; whilst every one conversant with Hindoo customs must know that women of the same description are common in Hindostan.

2. As for the marks of respect which were paid by inferiors in general to their superiors, they were as follow: The first and most common was a low inclination of the head, with the hands folded on the breast;^a and when the person was much their superior, or when they had a petition to ask of him, they either bowed the knee,^b or bowed themselves to the ground,^c or kissed his hand, his feet, or the hem of his garment,^d or caught him by the feet.^e It was customary, also, for inferiors to testify their respect by kissing whatever was delivered to them from a superior, and putting it to their forehead.^f And it is to this that Pharaoh alludes,^g when he says concerning Joseph, "According to thy word shall all my people be ruled—or kiss," thereby intimating that they should receive his orders with the profoundest respect. Were an inferior in this country to come with a present into the presence of a superior when he asked a favour, it would be construed as an insult; but it is otherwise understood in the East. Thus Maundrell^h tells us, "it is accounted uncivil to visit in Syria without an offering in hand. All great men expect it as a kind of tribute to their character and authority, and look upon themselves as affronted and even defrauded when this compliment is omitted. Even in familiar visits amongst inferiors, you will seldom see them come without bringing a flower, or an orange, or some other token of respect to the person visited; the Turks in this point keeping up the ancient oriental custom, hinted 1 Sam. ix. 7, 8. "If we go," says Saul,

^a Gen. xliii. 28.

^b Gen. xli. 43.

^c Gen. xlii. 6. Matt. xviii. 26. 29.

^d Luke vii. 38. 45.

^e Matt. xxviii. 9. Joseph. War, iii. 7.

^f Pococke, vol. i. p. 113. 182.

^g Gen. xli. 40.

^h Travels, p. 26.

“ what shall we bring the man of God ? There is not a present—and the servant answered Saul again, and said, Behold I have here at hand the fourth part of a shekel of silver, that will I give to the man to tell us our way ;” which words, adds Maundrell, are unquestionably to be understood in conformity to this eastern custom, as relating to a token of respect, and not a price of divination. In Mal. i. 8, we hear God reproving Israel, by an allusion to this custom, in the following words : “ If ye offer the blind for sacrifice, is it not evil ? and if ye offer the lame and sick, is it not evil ? offer it now unto thy governor, will he be pleased with thee, or accept thy person ? saith the Lord of Hosts.”—So general, indeed, are these presents, that when one invites a superior to a feast, it is said by Chardin to be usual to make him a present after it, and frequently before it, as an acknowledgment of the trouble he has taken. At such entertainments the chief seat was commonly given him ; and, whilst he remained in the house, as the corner of the room was the honourable place, or the place where the principal divan was ; so the corner of the divan was the principal seat,^a into which he was set, if very much the superior of the master of the house ; or on his right hand, if only a little more elevated in point of rank or office. Dr. Pococke also tells us, that it is accounted a very humble posture in an inferior, when in the presence of his superior, to sit so as that the most muscular part of his body shall rest on his heels.^b One would think it strange for superiors to exact presents from their inferiors, but this is sometimes done in the East ; and tributary princes, or those who wish to be thought in friendship with princes, make a point of sending them presents, either yearly or occasionally. It

^a Pococke, vol. i. p. 172.

^b Vol. i. p. 102. 213.

is to this part of eastern usage that a reference is made in 2 Chron. ix. 23, 24, when it is said that, "All the kings of the earth sought the presence of Solomon, to hear his wisdom, that God had put in his heart; and they brought every man his present, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and raiment, harness, and spices, horses and mules, a rate year by year." It seldom happened that princes travelled far from their palace, but on such occasions it was usual to have persons preceding them, whose office it was to allay the dust with water, which in those sultry climates was accounted a luxury. Accordingly, Dr. Pococke tells us,^a that at Cairo, according to an ancient custom of the state, a man went before and sprinkled water on the ground to allay the dust, before him who was to be greatly honoured, or treated like a prince. If this was used in Judea in the days of David, it will explain Shimei's behaviour,^b and give it great energy, who, in direct opposition to it, threw stones and dust in the day of that prince's affliction. David had been wont to have the dust allayed before him in the day of his prosperity; but Shimei, in the day of his distress, added insult to his rebellion.

It would appear that one of the ways of proclaiming a king was by spreading their garments, and blowing with trumpets. Thus when Jehu was made king by his companions in arms,^c it is said that "they hasted, and took every man his garment, and put it under him on the top of the stairs, and blew with trumpets, saying, Jehu is king:" a circumstance which serves to give a peculiar degree of force to the conduct of the multitude, who spread their garments in the way, and strewed branches of trees, and exclaimed Hosanna, when Christ made his triumphal entry into Jerusalem.^d In Sir John

^a Vol. i. p. 17. ^b 2 Sam. xvi. 13. ^c 2 Kings ix. 5. 13. ^d Matt. xxi. 8, 9.

Malcolm's History of Persia^a we have a more splendid way of doing the same thing; for, when Abbas the Second wished to do honour to an Usbeg prince, he went out seven miles to meet him, and the whole road to Ispahan was covered with rich silks, upon which the two sovereigns rode. In general, the farther they go to meet a person in the East, the greater is the honour.

But besides the kings of Israel, whose residence was stationary at Jerusalem, the Scripture takes notice of chiefs among the Arab tribes; I may therefore add, that whilst a spear was an emblem of authority among the warlike tribes, one or more lamps suspended near the tent of a chief was the emblem of authority among others of a milder disposition. Thus Norden tells us,^b that the tent of the bey of Girge was distinguished from others by forty lamps, disposed like chequer work.—Holofernes had silver lamps carried before him when he went to see Judith.^c—And the basha of Egypt had two hundred lamps hung between two great trees, at the gate of the inclosure that surrounded his pavilion.^d May not these serve to explain the words of Job, an Arab emir or chief, when he says,^e “O that I were as in months past, as in the days when God preserved me, when his candle shined upon my head, and when by his light I walked through darkness?” alluding to the lamps which hung around his tent in his days of prosperity, and burnt all night, hereby contrasting his former with his present condition.

In 2 Maccab. iv. 22, when Jason received Antiochus into Jerusalem by torch-light, and with great shoutings, it was intended as an honour, and received as such. But while treating of marks of respect due to superiors, we

^a Vol. i. ch. 15.

^b Part ii. p. 45.

^c Ch. x. 22.

^d Thevenot, part i. p. 160.

^e Job xxix. 2, 3.

should not overlook the guards of kings, which served the purposes of splendor, security, and the execution of justice: for in the East, where despotism, under various forms, has always prevailed, the sentence and the execution usually tread on the heels of each other.—Thus Potiphar, the captain of Pharaoh's guard was literally the captain of the executioners. Herod sent one of his his guard to behead John the Baptist; and the Cherethites, Pelethites, and Gittites of David, were also persons of that description: for the Cherethites (כרתים) mean the cutters off, or executioners; the Pelethites (פלתי) mean the dividers, or severers; and the Gittites (גיתים) mean the pounders, or bruisers.*

3. As for the marks of respect and friendship among equals, they had a peculiar degree of dignity and solemnity.—Thus, when saluting each other, it was generally in the words they use at present, "Peace be unto you,—Salam aleikum," which when the Arabs pronounce, they lay the right hand upon their heart; and the answer is, "Aleikum essalam, with you be peace;" to which aged persons are inclined to add, "and the mercy and blessing of God." Salutations in the East commonly take up much time; hence Elisha^a enjoins Gehazi to salute no man by the way, when he was sent to recover the Shunamite's son. "The ordinary way of saluting people in Egypt," says Maillet,^d "when at a distance, is bringing the hand down to the knees, and then carrying it to the stomach; marking their devotedness to a person by holding down the hand; as they do their affection by their after raising it to their head; and when they come close together they take each other by the hand in token of friendship." The common sa-

^a 2 Sam. xv. 18. xx. 7. 23. 1 Kings i. 44.

^b Niebuhr.

^c 2 Kings iv. 29.

^d Lett. 11th.

lutation to an equal, when at hand, is to lay the right hand on the bosom, with a gentle declination of the body; and persons of equal age and dignity, when under the impulse of strong feelings, kiss each other's hand, head, or shoulder.^a—Hence the conduct of Esau to Jacob;^b of Joseph to his brethren;^c and of the father of the prodigal.^d—Taking hold of the beard, and kissing the person, is also a token of respect;^e hence Joab took Amaza by the beard to kiss him.^f But any affront done to the beard was accounted a great injury; hence David's resentment at Hanun's conduct to his ambassadors in 2 Sam. x. 5. But besides the marks of respect which equals showed to each other in their occasional meetings, there were others which appeared in their friendly visits. We have little acquaintance with the domestic and social intercourse of the Jews, but from what we have seen in other respects, it appears probable that their friendly visits were not unlike those at present in the East. Let us remark, then, that the court or quadrangle in the middle of their houses, which was noticed in our description of the habitations of the East, is the place for receiving company when the weather permits; for rarely do they enter the family apartments, except in winter. Hence they have either moveable divans to suit the sun or the shade in their courts; or small places by the wall, more elegantly paved than the rest, on which to lay their carpets and cushions. Not unfrequently too do they screen a certain portion of the court by fixing curtains to the sides of the house, and fastening them to poles, or other fixtures in the court, that the company may either sit or walk, as under a porch; and the entertainment consists of each sitting according

^a Shaw, p. 237.

^b Gen. xxxiii. 4.

^c Gen. xlv. 14, 15.

^d Luke xv. 20.

^e Thevenot, part i. p. 30.

^f 2 Sam. xx. 9.

to his rank, and receiving a pipe, sweetmeats, coffee, and sherbet. The sweetmeats are commonly conserve of red roses, acidulated with lemon-juice : the coffee is made very strong, without either sugar or milk ; and the sherbet is some syrup, chiefly of lemon mixed with sugar.^a The pipes of the middling classes are plain, and about four or five feet long ; but those of the nobility, commonly known in the East by the name of the Persian pipe, or Bengal hookah, are of a more complicated kind. The Persian pipe which Mr. Bruce saw at Gondar, in Abyssinia, had “ a long pliable tube or worm, covered with Turkey leather, with an amber mouth-piece, and a crystal vase for smoking tobacco through water, which is accounted a great luxury in the eastern countries.”^b The Bengal hookah which the author of this work saw, consisted, 1st, of a crystal vase, two thirds full of rose-water when used, exactly the shape of the lowest part of the glass apparatus that is used for making alkaline aerated water, and similar, as it would appear, to that seen by Mr. Bruce. 2dly, A silver cup for holding the tobacco, covered with a silver globe full of holes, about four inches in diameter, and fixed to the stopper of the crystal vase by means of a tube, which descended into the rose-water to cool the smoke. And 3dly, A flexible tube, six yards and a half long, beautifully covered with threads of green and white silk, in the form of net-work, which had a mouth-piece on the one end, and was fixed to a metal tube in the stopper of the vase on the other, to receive the smoke after it had passed through the rose-water. Note, that the smoke on leaving the tube at the bottom, literally passes through the water, ascends to the top of the vase with a bubbling noise, and thus cooled, enters

^a Russell's Aleppo, p. 81.

^b Shaw's Abridgment, p. 268.

the second tube, which conveys it to the mouth.—Hence the singular and not unpleasant sound which is heard in the apartment when a number of hookahs are in action.—It resembles in some measure a purling rill.

It is uncertain whether the Jews in their entertainments indulged in this last piece of luxury, but if it was in use in Persia and Hindostan in the days of Solomon, it would probably be introduced by that luxurious monarch; since the commerce of India came then overland to Egypt; and Tadmor in the wilderness, or Palmyra, was built by Solomon, as a great commercial station for the caravans, when coming from, or returning to, the East.

At the conclusion of a visit, it is common in the East to sprinkle rose-water, or some other sweet scented water, on the hands and bodies of the guests,^a and to perfume them with lign aloes, or the smoke of frankincense, as a signal for departure.^b Hence, probably, the reason why sweet odours were brought to Daniel, in ch. ii. 46. In general the conversation at these visits is rather of a grave kind; but they also indulge occasionally in subjects of a light and cheerful nature, where the different passions and affections are allowed to appear, and where they are attended with their natural signs and gestures. Thus, striking the lip with the four fingers of one of the hands, so as to form the quickly repeated sound of yow, yow, yow, is said by Pitts^c to be their manner of expressing benevolent joy; while a tremulous application of the tongue to the palate, so as to produce the sound of heli, li, li, li, is the ziraleet of Syria, or female mode of expressing exultation.^d

In the fourth place, with respect to the marks of

^a Maillet, Lett. 1st.

^c Page 85.

^b Maundrell, p. 30, 31. Pococke, vol. i. p. 15.

^d Clarke's Harmer, ch. vi. ob. 50.

honour which superiors showed to inferiors, the following were the principal and most common. As it was impossible for kings to attend to every part of their dominions, it became necessary to delegate a part of their power to others; hence viceroys, lieutenants, chief governors, satraps, tetrarchs, &c., who acted in their name, and were accountable to them for their conduct. Thus Darius set 120 princes or chief men over the kingdom of Babylon, and ordered them to render an account of their administration to three presidents, of whom Daniel was the chief:^a these of course represented the king, and had a suitable revenue and salary. The same thing might be said, but on a lesser scale, of all those who held important offices under the kings of Israel and Judah. They were either heads of the tribes, or relations of the king, or had been distinguished by their valour: but they depended on the royal favour for their continuance in office, and were dismissible at pleasure. In such an oscillancy in human affairs, it became necessary to inform the public by some established etiquette of the appointment of the new favourite. Accordingly, when Joseph was taken from a prison and made prime minister of Egypt, he received the king's ring, in which was the royal seal that confirmed the royal decrees; he was arrayed in white linen; had a gold chain put about his neck; was conducted in grand procession through the streets of the capital, in the second state chariot; while a crier proclaimed to the multitude, "Bow the knee."^b And when Mordecai was raised to a similar dignity by Ahasuerus, we are told that he was clothed in royal apparel; rode on the king's horse of state richly caparisoned; had the crown royal set on his head; and one of the chief of the princes heading the procession;

^a Dan. vi. 1, 2.^b Gen. xli. 42, 43.

while a crier proclaimed before him, "Thus shall it be done to the man whom the king delighteth to honour."^a In the days of Saul, bracelets appear to have been ensigns of royalty, for the crown and bracelets which he wore were brought to David after his death.^b Isaiah^c tells us, that in his days the insignia of a governor were a robe, a girdle, and a key.—And in the East, the ceremony of investiture to dominions granted by the kalif is by sending letters patent, a crown, a chain, and bracelets.^d Changes of raiment, consisting either of caffetans or whole suits, are marks both of honour and office, and are always given by a superior to an inferior.^e Thus Daniel, if he could interpret the hand-writing on the wall, was promised by Belshazzar to be clothed in scarlet, to have a gold chain about his neck, and to be the third ruler in the kingdom.^f Alexander, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, when he appointed Jonathan Maccabæus high-priest, and declared him the king's friend, sent him a purple robe and a crown of gold;^g he afterwards honoured him still more by sending him a buckle of gold, to fasten his purple robe, as the use was to be given to such as were of the king's blood.^h And when Alexander died, his son confirmed Jonathan in the high priesthood, sent him golden vessels to be served in, and gave him leave to drink in gold, to be clothed in purple, and to wear a golden buckle or clasp.ⁱ Nearly the same things were promised by Darius to the person who should excel in wisdom.^k They were considered a distinguished honour, as being a part of the insignia of royalty; for Lucian, in his *Dialogues of the Dead*,

^a Esther vi. 7—9.

^c Ch. xxii. 21, 22.

^e Sir John Malcom's *Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. ch. 10.

^f Dan. v. 16.

^g 1 Macc. x. 20.

ⁱ 1 Macc. xi. 57, 58.

^b 2 Sam. i. 10.

^d D'Herbelot, p. 541.

^h 1 Macc. x. 89.

^k Esdras iii. 6.

makes Diogenes the cynic say to Alexander the Great, that "he would feel sorrow to leave his honour, and glory, and distinction, in managing his chariot, and his head bound with a white fillet, and his purple garment fastened with a buckle—*πορφύρα ἐμπεπορημενον*." Nestor's purple mantle was fastened with gold buckles.^a Ulysses, when under a feigned character, describing to Penelope the portrait of her husband, says, that "illustrious on his breast, the double clasping gold buckle indicated the king."^b And Virgil tells us that Dido's robe was fastened with a gold buckle.^c From all which we see, that it was an indication of royalty, and that the giving permission to wear it was considered a singular honour conferred on rulers of provinces, and the chief ministers of religion.

The princes of the East, even at the present day, have many changes of raiment ready, both as an article of wealth, which large wardrobes have always been in that country, and to suit the occasion; and in Persia they are of different degrees of fineness and richness, according to the rank or merit of the persons to whom they are given; but in Turkey they are all nearly of an equal fineness, and the honour lies in the number given.^d Party-coloured garments are also, in these countries, counted a mark of honour, and were worn even by king's daughters.^e Perhaps Joseph's coat of many colours resembled the stuffs in Barbary, which are formed of pieces of cloth, of different colours, sewed together; or it may have been richly embroidered like that which Telemachus, when leaving the court of Sparta in quest of his father received from Helen, whom Menelaus had received again into favour after the destruction of

^a Iliad x. 133.^b Odyss. xix. 226.^c Æneid. iv. 139.^d Clarke's Harmer, ch. vi. ob. 33.^e 2 Sam. xiii. 18.

Troy.^a For a superior to give his own garment to an inferior was reckoned a great mark of regard.^b Hence Jonathan gave his to David;^c and the following extract from Sir John Malcolm^d may serve to throw some light on Elisha's request to have the mantle of Elijah. "When the Khalifa," says he, "or teacher of the Sooffees, dies, he bequeaths his patched garment, which is all his worldly wealth, to the disciple whom he esteems the most worthy to become his successor; and the moment the latter puts on the holy mantle, he is vested with the power of his predecessor."

Thevenot^e informs us that superiors, in order to court popularity, sometimes use the salutation which is given to equals, instancing, as an example, the Grand Signior, when riding along the streets of Constantinople; and every one knows the arts which Absalom used to win the hearts of the people from his father: he put forth his hand, and took them and kissed them;^f a mark of kindness which David showed to Barzillai for a better end.^g I shall next add, that a horn in ancient times was an emblem of power, which the following extract will set in a new light: "One thing observable in the cavalcade which Mr. Bruce witnessed in Abyssinia was the head-dress of the governors of provinces. A large broad fillet was bound upon their forehead, and tied behind, in the middle of which was a horn, or conical piece of silver, gilt, about four inches long, much in the shape of our common candle extinguishers. This is called *kirn*, and is only worn at reviews, or parades after a victory."^h In the quarto edition of Bruce, a plate is given of this ensign of office, and I may add, that the Abyssinian word *kirn* is the

^a Odyss. xv. 105.

^b D'Herbelot, p. 571.

^c 1 Sam. xviii. 4.

^d History of Persia, ch. xxii.

^e Part i. p. 87.

^f 2 Sam. xv. 5.

^g 2 Sam. xix. 39.

^h Shaw's Abridgment of Bruce's Travels, p. 199.

same as קרן *heren*, which is the Hebrew word for a horn, and is often alluded to in Scripture. Thus in Ps. lxxv. 4, 5, "I said unto the fools, Deal not foolishly; and to the wicked, Lift not up the horn: lift not up your horn on high; speak not with a stiff neck." Ps. xcii. 10, "But my horn shalt thou exalt, like the horn of the unicorn." And in Ps. cxii. 9, "His horn shall be exalted with honour." Perhaps a remnant of this ancient practice is to be found still in the neighbourhood of Lebanon; for Captain Light, anno 1814, saw the females of the Maronites and Druzes "wearing on their heads a tin or silver conical tube, about twelve inches long, and twice the size of a common post horn, over which was thrown a white piece of linen that completely enveloped the body.^a The horn of the emir's wife was of gold, enriched with precious stones,^b and in the vignette prefixed to part ii. ch. 3, he gives us a drawing of a Druze female, in the costume of the country.

Let me add, before concluding these marks of honour, that, as in despotic countries there are sudden elevations to rank, and depressions to poverty, bondage, or death, according to the character and caprice of the tyrant; so it was customary, when a worthy person was restored to liberty, to declare his restoration by some appropriate action. Thus when Josephus was taken by the Romans, after the storming of Jotapata in Galilee, he was bound, like Paul, with a chain; but having prophesied that Vespasian would become emperor, at a time when there was no appearance of his prophecy being fulfilled, the emperor's son, Titus, after the event had justified the prediction, besought his father, on Josephus's falling into their hands, not only to loose, but cut in pieces his chain, as the completest evidence

^a Travels in Palestine, p. 220.

^b Page 222.

that he had been unworthily treated. Accordingly the historian tells us that a person was introduced who cut his chain in pieces, as was the usual method with those who had been bound without cause, and thereby restored him to liberty and honour.^a

But after having spoken of their marks of honour, we may also notice *their marks of disgrace*. These were many, but the chief of them were the following: sometimes they condemned men to the employments of women, like the Jewish youth to grind corn in Babylon;^b cutting off the beard was accounted a great insult,^c and plucking off the hair was adding cruelty to insult.^d To spit in the face of a person was also accounted disgraceful,^e and it is still practised in the East; for Hanway tells us, that in the year 1744, when a rebel prisoner was brought before Nadir Shah's general, "the soldiers were ordered to spit in his face, an indignity," adds the historian, "of great antiquity in the East."^f Clapping the hands, making a wide mouth, pushing out the tongue, and hissing, were likewise the marks of malignant joy and contempt.^g Accordingly Job says,^h "Men shall clap their hands at him, and shall hiss him out of his place." And Jeremiahⁱ mentions clapping their hands, hissing, wagging their heads, and gnashing their teeth, as the tokens whereby the inhabitants of Jerusalem showed their hatred. Whilst Isaiah^k says of Israel, "Against whom make ye a wide mouth, and draw out the tongue?"—We formerly noticed the conduct of Shimei to David, in throwing dust in the air, and may now add, that the Jews insulted Paul, many centuries after, in a similar manner:^l for it is said of

^a War, iv. 10.

^b Lam. v. 13.

^c 2 Sam. x. 5.

^d Is. l. 6.

^e Is. l. 6. Mark xiv. 65. xv. 19. Luke xxviii. 31, 32.

^f Travels, vol. i. p. 298.

^g Ezek. xxv. 6.

^h Ch. xxvii. 23.

ⁱ Lam. ii. 15.

^k Ch. lvii. 4.

^l Acts xxii. 22.

them that "they gave him audience unto this word, and then lifted up their voices and said, "Away with such a fellow from the earth—and they cried out, and cast off their clothes, and threw dust into the air." On which conduct of theirs, the following extract from Captain Light's Travels forms an excellent commentary: "They, (viz. the inhabitants of Galabshee, a village on the Nile,) seemed more jealous of my appearance among them than any I had seen. I was surrounded by them, and a 'present, a present,' echoed from all quarters, before they would allow me to look at their temple. One more violent than the rest threw dust in the air, the signal both of rage and defiance, ran for his shield, and came towards me dancing, howling, and striking the shield with the head of his javelin to intimidate me. A promise of a present, however, pacified him."^a

But, perhaps, the greatest insult that could be given, apart from bodily injury, was the contempt that was cast on their mother. Hence the cutting reproach of Saul to his son Jonathan, for the friendship he had shown to David. "Thou son of the perverse, rebellious woman, do not I know that thou hast chosen the son of Jesse to thy own confusion, and unto the confusion of thy mother's nakedness?"^b David, likewise, when reproving Joab, his nephew, uses similar language.—"These men, the sons of Zeruiah, be too hard for me."^c And when Abishai, the brother of Joab, wished to kill Shimei for cursing David, the king replied, "What have I to do with you, ye sons of Zeruiah?"^d which Zeruiah was David's full sister;^e but it is not difficult to explain the origin of this tenderness for a mother's character, and desire to resent any affront

^a Travels into Egypt, &c. p. 64.

^b 1 Sam. xx. 30.

^c 2 Sam. iii. 39.

^d 2 Sam. xvi. 10, xix. 22.

^e 1 Chron. ii. 15, 16.

that is cast upon her. It is owing to polygamy, where the children of the same family become naturally more attached to her, and to each other;^a and it is to the same source that we have the names of the mothers of the kings of Israel so frequently mentioned.^b It distinguished them from the other children of the kings by their other wives, and served to ascertain their descent and propinquity.—But marks of disgrace were not confined to the living; they often extended even to the dead, by refusing them the rites of sepulture,^c or raising them after they had been interred;^d or forbidding them to be publicly lamented; or allowing them to become the prey of ravenous animals;^e or casting them, like Urijah's, into the graves of the common people;^f or burning their bones into lime, as Moab did the king of Edom's.^g

Josephus, when deserted by his soldiers through the intrigues of John of Gischala, while governor of Galilee, showed his sense of the disgrace they had put upon him as their general, in the following striking manner: "He leaped out of his house to them, while they were going to set it on fire, with his clothes rent, and ashes sprinkled on his head, with his hands behind him, and his sword hanging at his neck." At this humbling sight, they pitied his situation, repented of their fault, and returned to their duty.^h This suspending the sword from the neck is several times mentioned in Sir John Malcolm's history of Persia, as the mark either of degradation or deep supplication; and the same thing may be said of those who, with sackcloth on their loins, and ropes on their necks, supplicated the conquerors for mercy.ⁱ

^a Parke's Travels in Africa, ch. iv.

^b 1 Kings xiv. 31. xv. 2. 10, &c.

^c Rev. xi. 1—12.

^d Jer. viii. 1.

^e Jer. xvi. 5—7. xix. 7. xxii. 18, 19. 2 Maccab. v. 10.

^f Jer. xxvi. 23.

^g Amos ii. 1.

^h War. ii. 21.

ⁱ 1 Kings xx. 31, 32.

SECT. IX.

Jewish Measures.

1. *Of length.* A finger; a handbreadth; a span; a foot; a cubit; a fathom; a reed; the measuring line; a furlong; a sabbath day's journey; a mile; a Berè; a Parsar; a common day's journey; an Egyptian aoura; the Levitical cities. 2. *Liquid measure.* Their quadrans; log or sextarius; firkin; hin; measure; bath; cor. 3. *Dry measure.* Their cab; omer, or tenth deal; seah; ephah; lethec; humer. 4. *Weights.* The shekel; manè, or minah; talent. 5. *Money.* The shekel; bekah; diner, or denarius; meah, gerah, or zuz; pondion; assar; semissis, or mesimes; farthing; mite.—Maneh or mina; talent; shekel of gold; talent of gold; drachma; didrachma; stater; Daric, Suidas's table of Jewish money. Relative value of gold and silver; their original form in commerce; usury between Jews prohibited; allowed with strangers. Money changers, their origin, utility, abuse. The custom of transacting money in sealed purses common in the East.

I. Measures of Length.

A finger, אצבע Atzebo, was the breadth of the thumb, or of six barley corns laid beside each other, where they are thickest.* Bishop Cumberland makes it the twenty-fourth part of a cubit, and equal to $\cdot 912$ parts of an inch,^b adopting the finger in place of the thumb, which the Jews used.

A hand-breadth, טפח Tepeh, was equal to four fingers' breadth, or 18 barley corns, because the width of the four fingers was reckoned equal only to three thumbs. It was the sixth part of a cubit, and equal to three inches and $\cdot 648$ parts of an inch, according to Bishop Cumberland.

* Godwin.

^b To prevent the frequent quoting of authorities, it may be proper to add, that the following account of Jewish measures is drawn up from a careful examination of the meaning of the words as used in Scripture: Lightfoot's *Harmony of the Four Evangelists*, on John ii. 6; his *Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations* on Matt. v. 26; his *Prospect of the Temple*, ch. x: Godwin's *Moses and Aaron*, book vi. ch. 9: Bernardus Lamy, *Lib. i. cap. 8, 9*: and Bishop Cumberland's *Essay on Jewish Measures and Weights*.

A span, זרֶת *Zereth*, σπῆλαιον, was equal to the width between the top of the thumb and the top of the little finger when extended, or about nine inches. In Ezekiel xliii. 13. 17, however, the span is said to be half a cubit; and as he measures the altar by the larger cubit, of a common cubit of 18 inches and a hand-breadth,^a or about 21 inches, so Parkhurst makes the span about 10½ inches, and Bishop Cumberland 10·944 inches.

A foot, פֶּעַם *Pom*, was equal to 12 inches, or 72 barley corns laid by the side of each other.

A cubit, אַמָּה *Amè*, from a comparison of Exod. xxxvii. 1. 10, with Josephus, Antiq. iii. 6, was equal to two σπῆλαιον, or spans, somewhat less than 18 inches, or the length of the human arm of a middle sized man, from the elbow to the top of the middle finger. But Bishop Cumberland makes the Mosaic cubit the same as the Egyptian, and larger cubit of Ezekiel,^b and consequently equal to 21·888, or 21¾ inches nearly.

A fathom was 4 cubits, or 7 feet 3·552 inches, according to Bishop Cumberland, being 7 feet, and rather more than 3½ inches.

A reed, קֶנָה *Kenè*, was equal to 6 cubits, and a hand-breadth to each cubit: accordingly, it will correspond with 6 of the long cubits of 21·888 inches, and be equal to 10 feet 11·328 inches, or 10 feet 11¼ inches nearly.

The measuring line, חֶבֶל *Hebel*, was used for measuring land, but thought by Godwin to be of uncertain length. Bishop Cumberland, however, states it at 80 cubits, or 145 feet 11·040 inches, nearly 146 feet.

A furlong, στάδιον, stadium, was reckoned equal to 125 paces, of three Roman feet each.^c Bishop Cumberland makes it 400 cubits, or 729½ feet.

^a Ver. 13.

^b Ezek. xl. 5.

^c Pliny, Lib. xiii. cap. 23.

A sabbath day's journey was 2000 cubits,^a founded, probably, on Josh. iii. 4, where it was commanded that 2000 cubits should be betwixt the Israelites and the ark, and which, at 21·888 inches to a cubit, make 1216 yards, or nearly three quarters of an English mile.

A mile milliarium, among the Romans was equal to 1000 paces; but the eastern mile, according to Bishop Cumberland, was equal to 4000 cubits, which, at 21·888 inches to the cubit, make 7296 feet, or nearly an English mile and a half. A Talmudic mile was only 7½ furlongs.^b

The *Berè*, בֵּרֶה, among the Jews, was as much as they could walk easily between meals.

A Parsa, פֶּרְסָה *Persè*, was equal to 4 miles. They made the whole land of Israel a square of 400 parsæ, or 1600 miles; and in the Arabic version of Rev. xiv. 20, the words which in our translation are rendered 1600 furlongs are rendered 1600 miles.^c

A day's journey at the equinox, or a diet as it is sometimes called in the Talmudic writings, was usually 30 miles, of 7½ furlongs each, but sometimes 40 miles, or 10 parsæ, divided thus: 5 miles from dawn to sunrise; 15 from sunrise till noon; 15 from noon till sunset; and 5 from sunset till the stars appear.^d A day's march to the festivals was only 30 miles for individuals, and 10 miles for companies.^e Bishop Cumberland makes a day's journey to have been 96,000 cubits, or 33 English miles, 1 furlong, 544 yards.

An Egyptian Aroua was equal to 100 cubits long by 100 cubits broad, or 10,000 square cubits. Accordingly the court of the tabernacle, which was 100

^a Lightfoot, Comment. on Acts i. 12.

^b Lightf. Chorog. decad on Mark, ch. viii. sect. 1.

^c Ib.

^d Ib.

^e Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Luke ii. 44.

cubits by 50, was equal to 5000 square cubits, or half an aroura; and the mountain of the Lord's house, which was 500 cubits square, was equal to 250,000 square cubits, or 25 arouras.

The Levitical cities, as we saw them treating of the glebes of the priests and Levites, had each 76 English acres, 1 rood, 20 poles, and 80 feet, on each side of the city, or 305 acres, 2 roods, 1 pole in all; so that the whole land that was attached to the 48 cities was equal to 14,664 acres, 1 rood, 8 poles, or about the 1321st part of the whole of Judea, supposing it to have been 200 square miles; far less than they would have been entitled to had their tribe got a share like the rest, and therefore requiring all that provision, in form of stipend, which the law enjoined, to make up the deficiency of their worldly right.

II. *Of Liquid Measure.*

As barley corns were the standard of measures of length, so egg shells were the standard of measures of capacity, thus:

The Quadrans, רביעית *Rebioith*, or smallest measure, was equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ egg shell full.*

The Log, לוג *Lug*, or *Sextarius* (ξεστος, Luke vii. 4.) was equal to four quadrantes, or 6 egg shells full. Bishop Cumberland makes it equal to 24·3 solid inches.

The Firkin, (μετρητης, John ii. 6.) is stated by Bishop Cumberland at 7 English pints of 29 solid inches each nearly, and 4·9 solid inches; but Lightfoot makes it the same as the bath or ephah.

The Hin, חין, was equal to 12 logs, or 72 egg shells full; and Bishop Cumberland makes it equal to 1 gallon, 2 pints, 2·5 solid inches.

* Lightf. Harm. of Four Evang. John ii. 6.

The Shelesh, שֵׁלֶשׁ, translated *a measure* in Is. xl. 12, appears, from its name, to have been the third part of the bath, and so to have been equal to 2 hins, or 144 egg shells full.

The Bath, בַּת *Beth*, was the same in liquid measure that the ephah was in dry.* It was equal to 6 hins, or 432 egg shells full. Bishop Cumberland makes it 7 gallons, 4 pints, 15·2 solid inches.

Their largest measure was the *Cor*, כֶּרַךְ *Cer*, or *Corus*. It was of the same size as the *Humer* in dry measure,^b held, according to Lightfoot, 4320 egg shells full; and according to Bishop Cumberland, 75 gallons, 5 pints, 7·6 solid inches.

So much, then, for their Liquid Measure; let us next attend to

III. Dry Measure.

The Cab, or קַב *Keb*, was their least measure: it is called χοῦξ, or *measure*, in Rev. vi. 6, and was equal to 24 egg shells full. Bishop Cumberland makes it the 0·15 of an English pint; but if Grotius's account from Herodotus, Hippocrates, Diogenes Laertius, and Athenæus may be depended on, it was considerably more, being equal to the allowance of a healthy man for a day, or, according to Lamy, it was the allowance to slaves.^c

The Omer, עֹמֶר or *tenth deal*, because the tenth part of an Ephah,^d was equal to $43\frac{1}{3}$ egg shells full; and Bishop Cumberland makes it equal to 2·9 pints, or 3 pints nearly.

The Seah, or סֵאָה *Saè*, *Satum*, *Modius*, or *Measure*, was equal to 6 cabs, or 144 egg shells full. Bishop Cumberland makes it equal to 1 peck, 1·1 pint. The three measures of meal mentioned Matt. xiii. 33, consequently mean an ephah.

* Ezek. xlv. 11. ^b Ezek. xlv. 44. ^c Lib. i. cap. 6. sect. 3. ^d Exod. xvi. 36.

The Ephah, אֵיפָה *Aipè*, in dry measure was the same with the bath in liquid,^a and was equal to three seahs, or 432 egg shells full. Bishop Cumberland makes it equal to 3 pecks, 3·4 pints.

The Lethec, לֶתֶךְ, Hosea iii. 2, was equal to 5 ephahs, or 2160 egg shells full; and Bishop Cumberland states it at 4 bushels, 0·8 pints.

The Humer, הוּמֶר or ass's load, was the largest dry measure among the Jews, and was of the same capacity as the cor in liquid measure. It was equal also to 2 lethechs or 10 ephahs, and contained 4320 egg shells full. Bishop Cumberland makes it 8 bushels, 1·6 pints.

IV. *Weights.*

The shekel, שֶׁקֶל or weight, by way of eminence, was the standard among the Jews, to which all their other weights were reduced. Bishop Cumberland makes it equal to 7dwts. 15 grains^c; but Michaelis^b estimates the weight of the shekel at no more than 92½ grains Paris weight, or 74¼ grains troy. As for the shekel of the sanctuary, mentioned in Exod. xxx. 13, and elsewhere, it was not different in weight from the civil or common shekel, as is evident from Exod. xxx. 13, compared with Ezek. xlv. 12; from which passages it is plain that they were both equal to 20 gerahs. The reason, therefore, of the appellation seems to have been, that the standard of this, as the foundation of all the other weights and measures, was kept in the sanctuary, and afterwards in the temple, according to 1 Chron. xxiii. 29, as our standards are kept at present in the Exchequer.

The Maneh, מָנָה *Menè*, or *Mina*, was equal to 60 shekels,^c and, in that case, weighed, according to Bishop Cumberland, 1lb. 1oz. 7dwts. 8 grains: but

^a Ezek. xlv. 11.

^b Supplem. ad Lex. Heb. p. 367.

^c Ezek. xlv. 12.

Parkhurst thinks, that by comparing 1 Kings x. 17, with 2 Chron. ix. 16, it was equal to 100 shekels when used as a weight, and 60 shekels when applied to money.

The Talent, כֶּכֶר *Cecer*, was equal to 3000 shekels, or 93lbs. 12 ounces avoirdupois, or 125lbs. troy, according to Bishop Cumberland; but Michaelis reckons it only at 32½lbs. avoirdupois, or 44lbs. 4 ounces troy.

V. Money.

The shekel of silver, mentioned in the law, is the same coin as *the silverlings*, mentioned Is. vii. 23, and is said to have had Aaron's rod on one side, and the pot of manna on the other. It weighed originally 320 barley corns; but the wise men afterwards made it equal to the coin *selaa*, or סֵלָע *selo*, which weighed 384 barley corns, and its value being considered equal to four Roman denarii, will be 2s. 7d. Bishop Cumberland, however, makes it only 28·287 pence, or 2s. 4½d. and its weight 9dwts. and 3 grains troy, equal to the Roman, and nearly to our half ounce avoirdupois.

The Behah, or בֶּקֶע *Beko*, was equal to half a shekel,* or 192 barley corns, and its value in money, according to Bishop Cumberland, was 14½d.

The Diner, דִּינָר or *Denarius*, was one-fourth of a shekel, or 96 barley corns, and equal to 7½d. of our money.

The Meah, or מֵיעָה *Mioè*, *Gerah*, or גֶּרָה *Gerè*, and זוז *Zuz*, were each the 6th part of the diner, and the 24th part of the shekel, or 16 barley corns, equal in value to 1·178, or rather less than 1½d. In Exodus xxx. 13, and Ezek. xlv. 12, it is mentioned that the gerah was the 20th part of the shekel; but this makes no difference as to the value, which is here given to it; for

* Exod. xxxviii. 26.

320 barley corns, or the original weight of the shekel, bears the same proportion to 20 that 384, or the amended weight, does to 24.

The Pondion, or פונדיון *Pundiun*, was the half of the meah, and the 48th part of the shekel, or 8 barley corns, and valued at ·589, or rather more than a half-penny of our money.

The Assar, אסר *Aser*, or Ασσαριος, was half a pondion, or the 96th part of a shekel: its weight was equal to 4 barley corns, and its value the 294th of a penny, or rather more than a farthing.

The Semissis, or מסימס *Mesimes*, was the half of an assar, or the 192d part of a shekel: its weight was 2 barley corns, and its value equal to ·146, or the 7th part nearly of a penny sterling.

The Farthing, קרדיונמס *Kerdiunts*, or Κοδρανις, was the half of the semissis, or the 384th part of a shekel: its weight was one barley corn, and its value ·073, or the 13th part of a penny sterling.

The Mite, or פרוטה *Prutè*, was the half of a farthing or the 768th part of a shekel: its weight was half a barley corn, and its value was ·036, or the 26th part of a penny sterling. The two mites, therefore, which the widow cast into the treasury, were equal to a farthing, or the 13th part of a penny sterling.

The above were the coins below the shekel, but there were also denominations of money above it, which should be mentioned: thus—

The Maneh, מנה *Menè*, or *Mina*, was equal to 60 shekels,* or 23,040 barley corns, and its value at 28·287, or 2s. 4½d. was 5l. 17s. 10½d.

The Talent, or ככר *Cecer*, was 50 manehs, or 3000.

* Ezek. xlv. 12.

shekels, and weighed 1,152,000 barley corns : its value, according to Bishop Cumberland, was 353*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.*

Hitherto we have spoken only of the brass and silver coins. The value of the gold coins was as follows :

A Shekel of gold is valued by Bishop Cumberland at 1*l.* 13*s.* 7½*d.* or about 14¼ times the value of silver.

A Talent of gold consisted of 3000 shekels ; so that at 1*l.* 13*s.* 7½*d.* the shekel, it would be equal in value to 5043*l.* 15*s.* : but it is valued very differently, according as men have valued the shekel, or fixed the relative value of gold and silver.

The Drachma was equal to a Roman denarius, or 7¼*d.* of our money.

The Didrachma, or tribute money, was equal to two drachmas, or 15½*d.* It was originally exacted for the service of the tabernacle and temple, but when Judea became a Roman province, it was converted into a tax, and sent to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome.* As to its particular form, it is said to have been stamped with a harp on the one side, and a vine on the other. Remote synagogues, in sending their half shekels, commonly united, and sent them in gold, for the convenience of carriage ; but the synagogues in Judea sent theirs in silver.

The Stater, or *piece of money* which Peter found in the fish's mouth,^b was exactly two didrachmas, or half shekels, and the precise sum consequently which was required as tribute money for Jesus and himself : its value was the same as the shekel, or 2*s.* 7*d.*

A Daric, translated "drams" in 1 Chron. xxix. 7. Ezra viii. 27, was a gold coin struck, not by Darius Hystaspes, as some have thought, but by Cyaxares, the uncle of Cyrus, and afterwards his father-in-law ; for

* Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Matt. xvii. 24. ^b Matt. xvii. 24.

Cyrus married his daughter, and got Media with her as her portion. His name in Scripture is Darius the Mede, and the coins were struck by him, while Cyrus was subduing the nations on the shores of the Red sea and Ethiopia.^a Dr. Bernard values them at two grains weight more than our guinea, or about 1*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.*;^b but Parkhurst makes them equal to 1*l.* 5*s.*

Suidas's account of the Jewish money, inserted by Lightfoot,^c is as follows :

7 Mites λεπτοι	=	1 χαλκευς, or brass coin.
6 Brass coins	=	1 Obolus (οβολος.)
6 Oboli	=	1 Drachma (δραχμη.)
100 Drachmæ	=	1 Pound (μνα.)
60 Pounds	=	1 Talent (ταλαντον.)
A Roman penny, a Jerusalem penny, and the $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Tyrian penny, were each		
	=	$\frac{1}{4}$ Shekel, or 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>d.</i>

A gold penny is stated by Lightfoot to have been equal to 25 silver pence.^d Bishop Cumberland's proportion between gold and silver is lower than that, being 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ nearly to 1. At present (1820) it is as 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.

The original *form* of the precious metals as the medium of exchange, appears to have been in the state of bullion. This was weighed in the balance, and either increased or diminished till the parties were satisfied. It was in the favour of these metals that they could be divided and subdivided without injuring their value. They were in that respect superior to the diamond, and,

^a Prideaux Connect. A. A. C. 538.

^b De Ponderibus, p. 171.

^c Heb. and Talm. Exer. Luke xix. 13.

^d Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Matt. xx. 2.

from their hardness and acknowledged worth, were not easily injured, and contained much value in little bulk. They were, therefore, a convenient symbol of commodities; but whilst they continued in the form of bullion, they were liable to some inconveniences, for they were troublesome to weigh at every transaction, and they might be adulterated. Hence the invention of bars of a certain size, and of a determinate purity, ascertained by some mark generally known. So early as the days of Abraham, we read of weighing pieces of silver that were current money with the merchant, or of the legal purity.^a And when Jacob bought the parcel of ground from Hamor,^b it would appear that the hundred pieces he gave had a determinate mark upon them, for they are called a hundred kesitè in the original. Now kesitè signifies "lambs," yet these could not have been given; for we are told in Acts vii. 16, that the price was in money. Must not these 100 pieces, then, have been so called, because the figure of a lamb was impressed upon them to ascertain their purity? But the most convenient improvement on the form and value of the precious metals, as media of exchange, was that of coinage. This ascertained the fineness and value at first sight, whilst by their variety they could easily be accommodated to every transaction.

Usury. When a nation becomes wealthy, it is natural for those who are possessed of wealth to lay it out to advantage either in the way of trade themselves, or at interest to others. Accordingly this is generally sanctioned by the laws of society, and a certain rate of interest is fixed upon to prevent rapacity; but usury or exorbitant interest is generally condemned. Although it hath been urged that if double hazardous insurance

^a Gen. xxiii. 16.

^b Gen. xxxiii. 19.

be more liberally rewarded than hazardous, those who lend them money at risk should receive a proportionate consideration.^a In the Mosaic law, usury or even profit of any kind on goods or money lent by a Jew to a Jew, was expressly forbidden.^b They were children of the same family, professors of the same religion, and should, therefore, feel for their needy brethren, and remember their distress in the land of Egypt. But usury was allowed between Jews and strangers.^c They might take from them a consideration, less or more, according to circumstances, for the money lent, as the risk of losing it might be greater, and the tie of consanguinity did not exist. Yet there was a difference between simple usury or interest, and biting usury or extortion. There are, indeed, four phrases on the subject, perfectly distinct from each other. Thus *מֶשֶׁה* *Meshè*, was the loan between Jew and Jew of any article that was needed on the ground of pledge till it was restored without any pecuniary consideration for that loan.^d *תִּרְבִּית* *Therbith*, meant simple addition to stock, or simple interest for money.^e *מֶרְבִּית* *Merbith*, meant a premium expected from the loan of provisions.^f And *נֶשֶׁח* *Neshec*, that usury or higher interest than was commonly received. All of these kinds might be practised between Jews and strangers:^g “Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon *neshec*, or usury;” but none but the first was allowed among Jews. Accordingly it is said in Levit. xxv. 36, “Take thou no usury, nor even increase (*Therbith*), meaning simple interest, but fear thy God, that thy brother may live with thee.” And in Ezek. xviii. 8. 13. 17, it is mentioned as the mark of a good man, that he had not been guilty of exacting from his brethren either

^a Bentham's Defence of Usury.

^b Exod. xxii. 25. Levit. xxv. 35—38.

^c Deut. xxiii. 19, 20.

^d Deut. xxiv. 10, 11.

^e Lev. xxv. 36.

^f Lev. xxv. 37. Deut. xxii. 19.

^g Deut. xxiii. 20.

simple interest or usury. After all, it is much to be doubted whether self interest did not often prevail over duty; for we find a widow complaining to Elisha, that her husband's creditors, after his death, were either demanding payment, or for taking her two sons as bondsmen.^a In Nehemiah v. 1—12, we have strong complaints by that good man against the nobles and rulers for the exaction of usury in various shapes; and our Saviour, in the parable of the talents,^b supposes the practice to have become general, for he says to the unprofitable servant, "Thou oughtest to have put my money to the exchangers, and then at my coming I should have received mine own with usury."^c

Exchangers. For a long time the Jews were so insulated, that they had little communication with the surrounding nations. Their trade, of course, consisted chiefly in home consumption; and the first person we hear of that extended it to other countries was Solomon, who sent caravans to Egypt for linen, yarn, horses, and chariots,^d and ships to Ophir for gold, and other articles of luxury.^e After the captivity, however, their intercourse became more general. A great number of their brethren were in Assyria, Egypt, and the Lesser Asia, &c. and a number of these, and of the proselytes from heathenism, visited Jerusalem at the solemn feasts. This gave rise, therefore, to a new class of men, the money exchangers. Foreign coins required to be exchanged for Jewish, in order to purchase sacrifices, pay the half shekel to the temple, and procure provisions and other necessities to the strangers while at Jerusalem. It appears, then, that there were two classes of exchangers; one for money in general, and the other

^a 2 Kings iv. 11.

^b Matt. 25. 27.

^c See a sensible dissertation on usury in Spencer De Legib. Heb. Rit. lib. i.

^d 1 Kings x. 28, 29.

^e 1 Kings x. 22.

for collecting the half shekel for the temple; but it could not be expected that these could attend gratis. There was trouble attending the transaction, and both trouble and risk in the transmission of the coins to their respective countries; a small premium was, therefore, demanded: we are not told how much for transactions in general, but when any came to procure two half shekels for a shekel, in order to pay their annual rate to the collectors, we saw, when describing the court of the Gentiles, that they demanded the 12th part of a denarius, or about $2\frac{1}{4}$ farthings. Perhaps it was this practice which gave rise to exchangers in general, as it is to the Jews also that we owe the invention of bills of exchange; for we find money changers and money lenders very common in the East. But since we are treating of money transactions, we may observe, that in the payment of large sums, it is customary to have the money counted, and sealed up in bags or purses. This is done by an authorised person, and is called *sherieving* in India, after which it passes from hand to hand, without the least suspicion, for the particular sum which is marked upon it. Sir John Chardin, in his *Travels into Persia*,^a says, that "the money bags are made of leather, long and narrow;" and Maillet^b tells us, that "a purse in the Levant contains money to the value of 1500 livres, or 500 crowns," equal to about 65*l.* in our money. The money bags which Naaman gave Gehazi,^c seem to have been of the value of a talent each, for they are delivered to him with apparent ease. In Ex. xxxii. 4, the word which is rendered, "with a graving tool," is the same as that used in 2 Kings v. 23, and translated "bags," and would certainly be much more faithfully rendered "bags and purses" in

^a Tom. ii. p. 204.

^b Letter 10.

^c 2 Kings v. 23.

that verse also, as Bochart has abundantly proved, vol. ii. p. 334. Compare Judg. viii. 24, 25.

SECT. X.

Division of Time among the Jews.

1. Days ; their length ; why the evening put before the morning ; not peculiar to the Jews. Division of the day into morning, noon, and night ; then into 12 hours and 12 hours. Origin of dials ; that of Ahaz considered. The clepsydra, or water-clock ; Jews had three kinds of days ; natural, artificial, prophetic. 2. Weeks ; their origin ; the seven Hebrew numerals descriptive of the seven days' work of creation ; computation by weeks very general. 3. Months, four kinds of ; the Jewish feasts and fasts, depended on their months. 4. Years ; lunar ; solar ; periodical ; siderial. Jewish division into civil and ecclesiastical : these described. The Hebrew and Syro-Macedonian names of the months. The intercalation of years explained ; the translation of feasts depended on this intercalation ; their lunar, political, and mixed translations.

1. *Days.* The Jewish day consisted of 24 hours, and was computed from evening to evening. Hence, in the account of the creation, we are always told that the "evening and the morning," or the evening 12 hours, and the morning 12 hours, when joined together, made a complete revolution of the earth round its own axis, or one day : yet a question occurs, why the evening was put before the morning, or why their day began at the evening ? Some interpreters, by way of solution, have observed, that Moses spoke according to the common method of computing time among the Jews ; but this is unsatisfactory, for the question still recurs, what made them do so ? Was their method of reckoning time merely arbitrary, or was it occasioned by some fixed specific reason ? Two answers may be given to this. The first is, that as all strong feelings are commonly more noticed, and generally expressed before those that are weaker, so our first parents, in relating the history of the creation to their children, might have said that the evening

or night, whose effects, when it first appeared, they so much dreaded, and the morning or day which preceded it, when taken together, made the first day, thus introducing that particular form of speech which was afterwards used by their posterity. But there is an objection to this; for although such an answer may be deemed satisfactory, when applied to the time after the creation of our first parents, yet it is not so satisfactory when applied to the time which preceded their creation. The whole six days of creation, for instance, are thus denoted, and by an inspired historian too, who must certainly have spoken according to truth. We ought, therefore, to look back for a reason as old as the day to which it was first applied. The following or second reason is, therefore, submitted. As the modern philosophy, contrary to the vulgar opinion, makes the sun to be at rest, and the true motion of the earth round its own axis to be the very reverse of the apparent motion of the sun, or in the direction of from west to east, so if we suppose that the Divine Being, when giving that diurnal motion to the earth, communicated the impulse to the eastern edge of it, the natural consequence would be, that the part touched would gradually sink into darkness, through all the successive stages of night, for the ensuing twelve hours; and at the end of that time would emerge at the western edge, to go through all the successive stages of day for the twelve hours next following, till it reached the east again, to repeat its former course. On this supposition, the evening twelve hours, or the time that the part where the motion was first communicated remained in darkness, would naturally precede the morning twelve hours, or the time when it was illuminated. I may add, that this manner of computing time, although it began with the Jews, was not confined to them; for the Phœnicians, Athe-

nians, Numidians, Germans, Gauls, Druids, Bohemians, and Poles, did the same.*

Hours, as equal divisions of the day, were long unknown among the ancients, their primary method of measuring time being by their own shadow, at different times of the day, and dividing the scale into 20 parts, in order to regulate their meals. Thus, when their shadow was of a certain length, they breakfasted; when of a certain length, they dined; and when of a certain length, they supped. The Jews do not appear to have been more ingenious than the other nations in this respect; for their first division of the day was into morning, noon, and night; then into the four day and night watches for the temple;^b and then into twelve hours during the day, and twelve during the night, all of which numbers are frequently noticed in Scripture.^c But the question occurs, how these hours became generally known among the Jews and other ancient nations? for that there does exist a certain proportion between the shadow of the human body and the hour of the day is unquestionable; but then that shadow was rather a standard for individuals than for the public, since every man's shadow was his own rule. Nor would a pole of any determinate length, if substituted in place of the human figure, have been any great improvement, because, although it would have been a true dial at the equator, it could only have been a twelve o'clock hour-line at every other place. The invention, then, of a dial, on just and general principles, would be accounted by them a valuable improvement; yet every one acquainted with the principles of dialling knows, that these are such as to require considerable acquaintance

* See the authorities quoted by Grotius, *De Verit. Relig. Christ. Lib. i. § 16*, note p.

^b Mark xiii. 35.

^c Basnage, *Book v. ch. 10*.

with geometry, and that, however easy the rules now appear, they might have been long undiscovered by the ancient philosophers; for it is not the mere drawing certain lines at random, and calling them hours, which forms a dial; these hour-lines must be regulated by the latitude of the place, and the style must also correspond with that latitude. Every latitude, therefore, must have its own dial.—It was owing to these and other causes that dials were so long unknown at Rome; for the first that appeared there is mentioned by Pliny, Lib. i. cap. 20, and was fixed upon the temple of Quirinus, by Lucius Papirius the censor, about the 12th year of the war with Pyrrhus. But the first that was of any use to the public, was set up in the forum by Valerius Messala the consul, after the taking of Catana in Sicily, from whence it was brought 30 years after the first had been set up by Papirius, and 260 years before Christ. But this was still an imperfect one, the lines of it not exactly corresponding with the several hours; yet they made use of it for many years, till Q. Marcius Philippus placed another beside it, greatly improved. The Greeks, indeed, had dials earlier, for Anaximander brought one from Chaldea, in the 58th Olympiad,* and before Christ 544. But the Jews were acquainted with them much earlier than either the Greeks or Romans; for the dial of Ahaz, which probably came also from Chaldea about the 3d year of his reign, when he formed an alliance with the king of Assyria, was set up at Jerusalem in the 9th Olympiad, or 740 years before Christ. Thus was there a dial at Jerusalem 196 years before they were known in Greece, and 480 years before they were known at Rome.—With respect to the form of the dial of Ahaz, there have been many conjectures. Parkhurst's,

* Herodot. Lib. ii.

which appears to me the most probable, is as follows :
 "From an attentive examination," says he, "of the two places where it is mentioned, it appears, 1. That the שמש *Shemesh*, or solar light's going backward, Is. xxxviii. 8, is equivalent to the shadow's going backward in 2 Kings xx. 9, 10, 11 ; for the latter depends on the former, and on a dial the light is exactly defined by the shadow. 2. That the dial, or horological instrument here referred to, was not an horizontal, but probably a vertical dial, on which kind of dial the shadow descends (which is expressed in 2 Kings by "going down") from sunrise till noon. Therefore, 3. That the miracle of the light's or shadow's (שֶׁבֿ *Sheb*) going backward, or in the contrary direction to going down, that is, its ascending the dial again, must have been in the afternoon, since it ascends the dial naturally every day in the afternoon. And, therefore, 4. That though we cannot exactly determine how much time was marked by ten degrees (מעלות *Moluth*), yet it could not be more than six hours, or the time from sunrising till noon. Hence, 5. That it seems not improbable that each degree might mark half an hour of time, and consequently the 10 degrees, 5 hours, since on this supposition the miracle would be more remarkable."^a Whether, however, we make the dial vertical, as Parkhurst, or a flight of steps in a stair so contrived, as that the sun, by shining in at a window, could mark the hours on the different steps, or any other probable shape, it is evident that the miracle was not merely a change in the atmosphere, so as to increase its refractive power, and make the degrees appear to go backward on the dial of Ahaz only ; for in 2 Chron. xxxii. 31, we find that ambassadors were sent from Babylon to congratulate Hezekiah on his recovery,

^a Lex. פֶּלֶא.

and to inquire into "the wonder that was done in the land," literally, "in the earth." It must also, therefore, have been noticed at Babylon ; and if we suppose that it was about 11 o'clock in the forenoon, when the sun or shadow began to go back at Jerusalem, it must have been nearly 12 o'clock at Babylon, which circumstance would make the miracle at the latter city still more obvious and striking. Parkhurst has also quoted authorities to show that it was known in Egypt and China. So much concerning their measuring time by dials, which, although an improvement on the human shadow, had yet this defect, that it showed the time only while the sun shone. Hence the need of some instrument that could do it during the 24 hours. The clepsydra, or water-clock, was of this kind, which, by a fall of water from one vessel or end of a vessel into another, marked equal divisions of time. It was used by the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, and perhaps by the Jews ; but it had two defects. The first was, that the water ran out with greater or less velocity, as the air was more or less heavy ; and the other, that the water ran more rapidly at the beginning than at the end, from the additional weight of the column on that which was passing through the hole ; yet it certainly was an improvement on the sun dial. The hour glass of sand measures time on the same principle as the clepsydra, and with nearly the same defects ; and when discoursing on the migrupitha, or bell that lay between the porch and the altar,^a we saw that the natives of India, to this day, measure time by a species of clepsydra. With respect to clocks, these were much posterior to the destruction of Jerusalem, unless we rank Archimedes' sphere, mentioned by Claudian, and that of Posido-

^a Part ii. sect. 6.

nus, mentioned by Cicero, among the number, but to which they can have no claim ; for, although they moved by means of hidden weights or springs, with wheels or pulleys, they were not employed to measure time. It is probable, therefore, that the only artificial methods of measuring time among the ancients were by dials and clepsydræ ; but having said thus much of the parts into which days were divided, and the means that were used to ascertain these parts, I may add, that, with respect to the days themselves, the Jews appear to have had three kinds of them. 1. The natural day of 24 hours, from sunset to sunset. 2. The artificial day of 12 hours, from sunrising to sunset, at the time of the equinox, or from 6 till 6 ; which hours were regularly numbered, and are often mentioned in the sacred Scriptures. Thus we read of the 3d, 6th, 9th, 11th hours, &c. And, 3. The prophetic day, which was equivalent to a year, and only used by the prophets. It is needless, however, to notice these more particularly.

2. *Weeks.* The next division of time among the Jews was that of weeks. These took their rise from the days of the creation, and the rest that followed it ; and it is somewhat remarkable, that the seven Hebrew numerals have an evident allusion to that important event, and are a proof that the Mosaic account of the creation was coeval with the structure of the Hebrew language. Thus, the *first* day's work was employed in uniting light and the darkness, so as to form that portion of time which is called a day : hence the first Hebrew numeral, אֶחָד *Ahed*, comes from a root which signifies "to unite," and may be called "the uniter." On the *second* day, when the firmament was formed by a repetition of the Creator's power, and the earth had likewise repeated its revolution round its axis, what was more natural than to call the second Hebrew numeral שְׁנַיִם *Sheni*, or the "re-

peater?" As the heavens began on the *third* day to exert that rule which God had given them the day before, in drying the earth, and causing it to bring forth vegetables, we may see the propriety of calling the third Hebrew numeral שלישי *Shelishi*, or "the ruler." Hitherto the agitation which the air experienced from the influence of light and heat, was evidently occasioned by the immediate power of God; but on the *fourth* day he created particular agents for that purpose: any one, therefore, who remembers what influence these heavenly bodies have in agitating the air and the ocean, will not be surprised to find that the fourth Hebrew numeral should be termed רביעי *Rebioi*, or "the agitator." As on the *fifth* day the earth was furnished with every thing necessary for man and the other animals, the Hebrew numeral for five would seem to allude to this, for it is חמישי *Hemishi*, or "the furnisher." On the *sixth* day, every thing being now created, the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy; why should not the number for the day denote the sentiments it excited, and the sixth Hebrew numeral be called ששי *Esheshi*, or "the rejoicer?" And as on the *seventh* day God rested from all his work, had the satisfaction of seeing it answer the purpose for which it was created, and appointed that day as a day of rest for man and beast, and a day on which he was to receive the homage of all his subjects, was it not natural that the seventh Hebrew numeral, שביעי *Shebioi*, should signify "rest, satisfaction, and devotion?" This division of time into weeks, which began after the creation, has extended itself over the whole world; so that, as the president de Goguet* well observes, "We find, from time immemorial, the use of this period among all nations, without

* Origin of Laws, vol. i. book 3. ch. ii. art. 2.

any variation in the form of it. The Israelites, Assyrians, Egyptians, Indians, Arabians, and, in a word, all the nations of the East, have in all ages made use of a week of seven days. We find the same custom among the ancient Romans, Gauls, Britons, Germans, the nations of the North, and America. Many vain conjectures have been formed concerning the reasons and motives which determined all mankind to agree in this primitive division of time; but nothing but tradition concerning the space of time employed in the creation of the world could give rise to this universal, immemorial practice." See more on the same subject in Grotius, *De Verit. Relig. Christ. Lib. i. sect. 16*, and in Dr. Jamieson's *Use of Sacred History*, vol. i. p. 167.

3. *Months.* The next division of time among the Jews were their months; but they were of different degrees of length. Indeed, there are no fewer than four kinds of months, which either were or might have been known to that people. 1. In the time of the flood, the months consisted of 30 days each, for Moses reckons 150 days from the 7th day of the 2d month till the 7th day of the 7th month, which makes an interval of five months, of 30 days each. This kind of month was in use for some time also in Egypt and in Greece. 2. The moon takes 27 days and 43 minutes to pass through the zodiac, and return to the same point from which she set out. This is called her period. 3. She takes 29 days, 12 hours, and 44 minutes betwixt passing from the point in which she is in a straight line with the sun, and returning to it again. This is called her synod, or conjunction; and for ease of calculation the ancients made the lunar months to consist of 29 and 30 days alternately, calling the one *menses cavi*, and the other *menses pleni*. 4. The last kind of month was between the one appearance and the other of that luminary,

which could never be certain, since it depended much on the clearness or haziness of the atmosphere. Critics are much divided which of the two last was the way by which the Jews regulated their feasts and fasts; but the greater number seem inclined to the latter opinion, and, in conformity with it, explain the following words in 1 Chron. xii. 32. "The children of Issachar, which were men that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do," as referring to their knowledge in astronomy, which enabled them to make calendars for the Israelites, that they might keep their festivals, and plough and sow, and gather in their harvests and vintage in due season.

4. *Years.* The last common division of time among the Jews was into years. These, before the improvements in astronomy, generally consisted of 360 days, or 12 lunar months of 30 days each; and these months and years, says Sir Isaac Newton,^a they corrected from time to time by the courses of the sun and moon, omitting a day or two in the month as often as they found the month too long for the course of the moon, and adding a month to the year as often as they found the 12 lunar months too short for the return of the four seasons. Cleobulus, one of the seven wise men of Greece, alluded to this year in his parable of a father who had 12 sons, each of which had 30 daughters, half white and half black;^b and Thales calls the last of the month *τριακῆς*, or "the 30th."^c The Egyptian method of counting the days of the year was originally very simple; for Diodorus Siculus^d tells us, that in the temple of Osiris,

^a Chronology of the Greeks, p. 74.

^b "Ἐκ τριῶν, τριῶς δὲ δώδεκα τοὺς δὲ μῆνας
Παῖδες τριῶν τε δωδεκάμηνος ἔχουσαι.

Apud Laertium, Lib. i. p. 63.

^c Laert. in Thalete.

^d Lib. i. p. 13.

the priests appointed thereto filled 360 bowls with milk every day, by which was probably meant that there stood 360 such bowls in the temple, and that the priest filled one of these bowls every day till he had completed the whole. It is well known that the Israelites either brought the knowledge of the Egyptian year along with them out of Egypt, or used one of the same kind, for Moses computes time by it uniformly in his writings. This year of 360 days was certainly nearer the truth than the lunar year of 354 days, which falls short of the solar year of $365\frac{1}{2}$ days by more than 11 days. But there are some who suppose that the Jews actually counted by the solar, and found their arguments on a minute examination of the Hebrew.* One thing is certain, that they required some plan for settling the seasons, in order to the observance of their religious festivals and other rites; but this was by intercalations, as we shall see afterwards. Indeed it is not to be expected that their ideas, either of the lunar or solar year, could be very exact, since these depend on the improvements in astronomy, which were much posterior to the times we are treating of; for it is now found that there are really 4 years, of different lengths. The lunar year, of 254 days, 8 hours, and 48 minutes; the natural solar year, or period of the seasons, of 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, $45\frac{1}{2}$ seconds; the periodical year, or time of the earth's revolution on its orbit, of 365 days, 6 hours, 15 minutes, and 20 seconds; and the sidereal year, or time employed by the sun in returning to the same apparent position with respect to a fixed star, of 365 days, 6 hours, 9 minutes, $1\frac{1}{2}$ seconds. But although the Jews, like the other nations of antiquity, were ignorant of these improvements in astro-

* Parkhurst, שׁוׁר.

nomy, they divided the year with sufficient precision for ordinary purposes. Thus they had, 1st, a civil year, which began on the appearance of the moon in September, or about the autumnal equinox, because the world was supposed to have been created at that time. It was used for every purpose till the time that the Israelites left Egypt; but after that, it was confined to civil purposes chiefly, as fixing the reigns of kings, dates of contracts, and birth of children. It was from this, also, that they counted the time of service to bondmen, the year of rest to the land and its fruits, the year of jubilee, and the time by which the period of impurity of trees, lately planted, was determined. Thus if the tree was planted in June, the first year of its planting ended in August, the second year of it began in September, and the third year at the September following; so that at the third year they began to be tithed. 2dly, They had an ecclesiastical year, which began at the appearance of the moon in March, or about the vernal equinox, by which they regulated their religious feasts and fasts, and from which the prophets sometimes dated their prophecies.^a 3dly, They had a year which began with the new moon, in Elul, or the middle of August, for tithing the lambs of that season: and, 4thly, They had a year which began with the first appearance of the moon, or, as Hillel taught, with the 15th day after its appearance in Shebat, which corresponded with the middle of January, or beginning of February. This was for tithing the fruits of trees; for they gave no tithes of the fruits of those trees which budded before that time, but paid tithes of all that budded after.^b See farther, concerning the different ways of measuring time among

^a Zech. vii. 1.

^b Buxtorff, de Synag. Jud. cap. xvii. Basnage, Book v. ch. 10.

the Hebrews, in the Abbe Fleury's Manners of the ancient Israelites, part iv. ch. 3.

The names of the Jewish months are familiar to every one; but it may be proper to compare them with the Syro-Macedonian names which Josephus gives in his writings: thus—

Hebrew names.	Syro-Macedonian dicta.	Roman names.
1. Abib, or Nisan,	Xanthicus,	March, April,
2. Zif, Jair, or Jyar,	Artemisius,	April, May,
3. Sivan,	Dæsius,	May, June,
4. Tamuz,	Panemus,	June, July,
5. Ab,	Lous,	July, August,
6. Elul,	Gorpæus,	August, September,
7. Ethanim, Tizri,	Hyperberetæus,	September, October,
8. Bul, Marchesuan,	Dius,	October, November,
9. Chisleu,	Apellæus,	November, December,
10. Thebeth,	Audinzus,	December, January,
11. Shebeth,	Peritius,	January, February,
12. Adar,	Dystrus,	February, March.

Intercalations.—We are now come to the most intricate part of the subject, viz. that of their intercalations, but I shall endeavour to simplify it as much as possible. As the Jews are generally supposed to have computed time by the appearances of the moon after their leaving Egypt, in order to the fixing their religious festivals, it is evident that there would soon be a confusion as to the keeping of these feasts, if some method had not been taken to correct it; since the lunar year is only 254 days, 8 hours, and 48 minutes, and the solar year is 365 days, 6 hours 15 minutes, and 20 seconds.—Accordingly, the way they avoided it was as follows: They intercalated a month after their 12th month Adar, whenever they found that the 15th day of the following month Abib, which was the first month of their ecclesiastical year, would fall before the vernal equinox; and the way they gave the intimation to the public was as follows: “Peace be multiplied unto you.

We give you to understand that, since the lambs are too young, the pigeons too small, and the time of the first ripe ears is not yet come, it seemed good to me and my companions to add 30 days to this year.”^a Dr. Reland adds another reason, viz. when it was seen that the people would not get home from the feast of tabernacles before the rains in autumn began to fall.^b This intercalated month was named Ve-adar, or “the second Adar,” and was inserted every second or third year, as they saw occasion; so that the difference between the lunar and solar year could never, in this way, be more than a month. And this was their manner of intercalating years till towards the end of the times of the Old Testament. But after the death of Alexander the Great, A.A.C. 323, and which corresponds with the times of the Apocrypha, when numbers of Jews were settled in Alexandria, and the other cities of Lower Egypt, Libya, Cyrene, Syria, and the Lesser Asia, under the Syro-Egyptian and Syro-Macedonian kings, they discarded the above rude way of calculation, and applied the knowledge which they had of astronomy to the subject in question; for, long before this, cycles of 2, 4, and 8 years had been formed by the Greeks, in order to make their computation by lunar months (for they also computed in that way,) suit the length of the solar year, that they might the better regulate the Olympic games, but without effect. Meton, therefore, the illustrious Athenian astronomer, who flourished A.A.C. 432, invented his cycle of 19 years, or the cycle of the moon, which by intercalating 7 years, of 13 months each, with 12 of the common length, was thought to bring the sun and moon into the same point of the heavens that they were at the beginning of the cycle; and consequently,

^a Talm. Jerus. Sanhed. fol. 18. col. 4.

^b Antiq. Sacrz. p. iv. cap. 1.

to have the same new and full moons always returning at the same times; and it is to the honour of Meton, that, after a trial of a hundred years, this cycle had an error only of 6 hours more than the truth; for Meton had made 19 Julian years to contain 6940 days; whereas they were really found to be 6939 days and 18 hours; which Calipus wishing to correct, added four Metonic cycles together, and thereby formed his own of 76 years, about the year before Christ 330; but this only lessened the error by 10 minutes, leaving a surplus of 5 hours and 50 minutes to be accounted for.

It was this cycle of Calipus which was the highest in repute among the learned, when the Jews wished to regulate their feasts, after the death of Alexander; but in place of adopting it implicitly, as they ought to have done, they took a strange plan, for they added to this cycle of Calipus the formerly discarded one of 8 years, and formed a new cycle of 84 years; which, in 19 years, increased the error from 5 hours and 50 minutes to 30 hours and 51 minutes: yet this was the cycle that was continued both by Jews and Christians till so late as A. D. 360, when Rabbi Hillel recalled the attention of his countrymen to the cycle of Meton, as sooner completed than that of Calipus, as far more just, and therefore, as better adapted to the regulation of their feasts and fasts. According to him, the intercalated years of 13 months are the 3d, 6th, 8th, 11th, 14th, 17th, and 19th, and all the others are common years of 12 months each.*

But besides the manner in which they intercalated their years, they had also a custom of changing the days of their religious festivals, which depended on that intercalation. This translation or change was three-

* Prideaux, *Con.* vol. i. preface, and also A.A.C. 432, 162.

fold: lunar, political, and mixed. The reason of *lunary translation* was, that they might not observe the feast of the new moon until the old was quite ended; for the understanding of which three things are to be remembered: 1. The Hebrews counted their holy-days from night to night, beginning at six o'clock: so that from six o'clock at night till the following noon were just eighteen hours. 2. Always before the new moon there is a conjunction between the sun and moon, during which she was called "*luna silens*," by reason of her darkness; and all this time there is a participation with the old moon. 3. When the conjunction was over, before noontide, namely, in any of these first eighteen hours, then the new moon was celebrated the same day; but if it continued but one minute after twelve o'clock noon, then the feast was translated to the day following, because otherwise they would begin their holiday in the time of the old moon; and this translation they noted with the abbreviation יז , the Hebrew numerals for 18, because of those eighteen hours which occasioned it. So much for their lunar translation. The reason of their *political translation* was, that two sabbaths, or feast days, might not immediately follow each other: because, say they, it was unlawful, during those two days, to dress meat, or bury the dead; and it was likewise inconvenient to keep meat dressed, or the dead unburied two days; yet here two exceptions were allowed, when the meeting of two sabbaths could not be avoided; viz. 1. When the passover, or the 15th day of Abib or Nisan, which was the first month of their ecclesiastical year, fell on Saturday, which was their sabbath; for then the feast of Pentecost must needs fall upon Sunday. And 2. When their passover fell on our sabbath, for then their passover immediately followed Saturday, which was their weekly sabbath. The author

of this political translation, as it was called, was one Eleazar, who lived A.A.C. 350; and the several kinds of it were five. The first אָדוּ *Adu*, the second בְּדוּ *Bedu*, the third גֶּזַז *Gez*, the fourth זֶבֶד *Zebed*, and the fifth אָגוּ *Agu*: for the understanding of which, we must know, that in these five words the letters only stand for numbers, and are applied to the seven days of the week thus: אָ Sunday, בְּ Monday, גֶּ Tuesday, דְּ Wednesday, הֶ Thursday, וֶ Friday, and זֶ Saturday; and the way of applying them was as follows: 1. That neither their new year's day of the civil year, which was the first of the month Tisri, or September, nor their feast of tabernacles, which was the 15th of the same month should be celebrated on Adu, that is, on Sunday, Wednesday, or Friday:—not on Sunday or Friday, because then the Jewish weekly sabbath, on Saturday, would concur with it, by either going immediately before, or coming after; and not on Wednesday, because then the feast of expiation, which was on the 10th of that month, would fall on Friday, or the day before the Jewish sabbath. This instance which is given concerning the feast of Tisri, or the feast of trumpets, on the first day of the civil year, holds equally for the 15th, or the feast of tabernacles, because the 15th must always necessarily be on the same day of the week with the first.—Therefore, if the first be not Adu, the 15th cannot be Adu. The second rule was, that the pass-over should not be observed on Bedu, that is, on Monday, Wednesday, or Friday; but it is needless to be particular about the reasons. The third rule was, that Pentecost was not observed on Gez, or on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. The fourth rule was, that the feast of Purim should not be observed on Zebed, or on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday. And the fifth rule was, that the feast of expiation should not be ob-

served on Agu, or on Sunday, Tuesday and Friday. Such were their rules for what was termed political translation. With respect to the *mixed translation*, it was that in which both the lunary and political met in the changing of days, and was divided by the Jews into simple and double. *Simple translation* was when the feast was translated to the next day following.—For example, if the moon changed after 12 o'clock on Sunday, the feast was translated for two reasons: the first lunary, because the point of the change was after 18 hours; the second political, because the rule Adu forbade Sunday to be kept. Notwithstanding, inasmuch as the next day, namely, Monday, was observed, the translation was termed simple. Of this sort was that translation which they called Betu-thekpet (בטו-תקפט,) a word of no particular meaning, but invented for the help of memory, each letter being a numeral, and thus resolved: ב equal to 2, טו equal to 15, and תקפט equal to 589; the meaning of which is, that in the year following that one in which one whole month was intercalated, if the point of the change happened upon the second day of the week, that is, on Monday, and not before the 15th hour, and the 589th moment (1080 moments being an hour,) then the feast of the new moon was translated to Tuesday. But how the lunary and political translations work in this change, must be referred to Scaliger, de Emend. Temp. lib. ii. p. 87.—This, then, may serve as an explanation of simple mixed translation. And with respect to the *double mixed translation*, it was when the feast was translated, not to the next, but to some further day; as if the first day of the month Tizri, or the first day of their civil year, should happen upon Saturday; here, if the moon had not finished her conjunction before the afternoon, lunary translation removed this feast till Sunday, because of

the יז or 18 hours; and political translation removed it till Monday, as appeareth by the rule Adu, forbidding Sunday. Of this sort was Getred (גטרד), a word of no meaning, but composed to assist the memory, of a set of numerals thus explained: ג signifies 3, ט signifies 9, and רד 204:—The meaning, therefore, is, that if in their common year, when a whole month was not inserted, the point of change happened on the third day of the week, viz. Tuesday, and not before the 9th hour, and the 204th moment of an hour, then the new moon was translated to Thursday.

The feast of tabernacles was observed in the month Tisri, and therefore that could not be observed on the morrow after the sabbath, as appeareth by the rule Adu. The passover was observed in the month Abib or Nisan, and therefore that might be observed the morrow after the sabbath, by the rule Bedu. Should it be asked, however, why the passover might be observed on the day after the sabbath, and the feast of tabernacles might not? I answer, that all the subsequent translations depended on the first translation of the first new moon in Tisri: but as that could not be changed so as to prevent all concurrence between the several feasts, they thought the above plan the most convenient, since the greater part of them were thereby prevented.*

So much, then, concerning the Jewish methods of fixing the times of their feasts and fasts. They were, indeed, a solemn kind of trifling, but they show the desire which the Jews had for accuracy, and may gratify the curiosity of some of my readers. I might add, that the Jews never counted by the year of the world till A.D. 1040, when, being driven from the East, and

* Godwin's *Moses and Aaron*, book iii. ch. 8.: but to be found at large in Maimonides, *de consecratione Calendarum, et de ratione intercalendi*. Cap. 6—21.

forced to remove to Spain, France, England, and Germany, they learned it from some of the Christian chronologers. Their common method of fixing dates before that was, by the reigns of their kings; and afterwards by the æra of the Selucidæ, called by them the æra of contracts: because, after they fell under the government of the Syro-Macedonian kings, they were forced to use it in all their contracts about civil affairs.—It began at the retaking of Babylon by Seleucus, A.A.C. 312.*

SECT. XI.

Commerce of Judea.

Internal; external with Arabia, Egypt, and Tyre; remarks on the nations that have distinguished themselves by trade. The fleets of Solomon to Tarshish and Ophir particularly considered. The situation of these two places.

THE commerce of Judea was either domestic or foreign. The domestic commerce consisted in those numberless exchanges which the individuals of the tribes made with each other, either for money or produce;^b and the foreign, that which was carried on with other nations, either near or remote. With Babylon and Persia, on the north-east, the Jews seem to have had little intercourse, till a late period of their history, and even then it was rather military than commercial. They had more with the Arabs on the east, who were naturally of a restless turn, and acted as the carriers of their own surplus produce, and that of their more easterly neighbours. So early as the days of Joseph do we read of them going southward to Egypt in caravans: for they were the persons who bought him from his brethren, and sold him to Potiphar. The Egyptians and Jews had indeed a considerable traffic: for in times of scarcity the Jews

* Prideaux, Connect. sub Ann.

^b Ecclus. xxvi. 29.

went down to Egypt for corn; and Solomon bought from thence large quantities of linen yarn, either for the purposes of weaving or embroidery :^a and, to add to his magnificence and military strength, he also purchased chariots from the same quarter, for 600 shekels of silver each, and horses for an hundred and fifty shekels each. He was, indeed, the first king of Judea who attended to this species of force, and had no fewer than sixteen hundred chariots and twelve thousand horsemen.^b But we read little of the commercial relations between Judea and Egypt from the time of his death till the conquests of Alexander the Great, who, in order to people his new capital, settled a great many Jews in Alexandria, and granted them privileges equal to those of the Macedonians.—This increased the intercourse between these nations, which was still farther cemented by Ptolemy Soter who carried numbers of Jews to the same place, and gave them such encouragement, that multitudes more went voluntarily to settle there; insomuch, that Philo reckons that in his time there were a million of Jews in that country. It is easy to see how the productions of either country would come into request in such circumstances.—As for the Phœnicians, they very early distinguished themselves as a commercial nation, especially the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon; and, being on the shore of the Mediterranean, and on the confines, or rather within the limits of the land of Judea, the Jews and they had frequent intercourse. From Tyre, therefore, as from the best frequented market in the world, did the luxuries of other nations find their way among the Jews, during the prosperity of these enterprising cities.—They were, indeed, excellently situated for trade: and as trade, and not territory, was the cause of their greatness, they found it

^a 1 Kings x. 28.

^b 1 Kings x. 26—29.

their interest to draw every nation to their ports. Hence the numerous caravans from every quarter by land, and the ships by sea. It deserves notice, that the greatest trading nations in the world have not had originally the greatest territory. The domains of Tyre extended only a few miles from the coast: when Solomon, therefore, built the temple, he paid the Tyrians in wheat, barley, wine, and oil, rather than in money.* Carthage on the coast of Africa, which was founded by a colony of Tyrians, was according to Strabo xvii. 832, only three hundred and sixty stadia, or forty-five miles in circumference. Venice and Holland, to which the centre of commerce was chiefly transferred, after the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, are only of narrow limits; and Britain, which is now the principal commercial nation, is only an inconsiderable island, as to extent. It is true that, as these increased in commercial prosperity, they increased in colonies; but the original observation still holds good, that great nations, like extensive landed proprietors, have in general, rather contented themselves with the fruits of the soil, internal commerce, and becoming the customers of general merchants, than been general merchants themselves: whilst several of the smaller states, who had no extensive territory to boast of, and where situated on the seashore, have turned their genius from their soil to their ships, and, by becoming the centre of attraction and confidence, have bettered themselves and become the benefactors of the universe. Let us look at Tyre only, at present, for a confirmation of this remark.—Although originally an inconsiderable city, and now a rock to dry nets on, yet, in the days of her prosperity, she was the emporium of every trading nation:—to her, as to a centre, came all

* 2 Chron. ii. 10—15.

that was valuable ; and from her, as the general market of nations, did all derive those foreign productions which they severally required. In the 27th chapter of Ezekiel we have a catalogue of part of those articles in which she traded, and the effect they had in increasing her prosperity.—It is painful to add, that they accelerated her fall, by exciting the jealousy of Alexander the Great, who wished to transfer the centre of commerce from Tyre to Alexandria.*

We hear little of any attempts at foreign trade among the Jews by means of ships, but in the days of Solomon, who cultivated the friendship of Hiram, king of Tyre, and had fleets of ships manned by his sailors, or guided at least by his pilots, in their voyages to Ophir and Tarshish. The words of Scripture^b are, that “the navy of Hiram, which brought gold from Ophir, brought also from thence great plenty of almug trees and precious stones.” And in 1 Kings x. 22, and 2 Chron. ix. 21, we are told, that the “king had at sea a navy of Tarshish, with the navy of Hiram, and that once in the three years came the navy of Tarshish bringing gold, and silver, and ivory, and apes, and peacocks.” Had we heard nothing more of these fleets we should naturally have supposed, that the fleet to Ophir sailed down the Red Sea, somewhere to the south ; and that the fleet to Tarshish sailed from Tyre at the east end of the Mediterranean, to Tartessus in Spain, near the ancient Gades, now Cadiz, at the mouth of the Bætis or Guadalquivir, without the straits of Gibraltar : but 1 Kings xxii. 48, goes against this idea, for it tells us, that “Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold ; but they went not, for the ships were broken at Ezion-geber.”

* See farther in Prideaux, Connect. A.A.C. 259.

^b 1 Kings x. 11. 2 Chron. ix. 10.

Now this Ezion-geber is at the foot of the Elanitic gulf in the Red Sea, and was the place to which the Israelites returned, when God swore that they should not enter immediately into the land of Canaan, but should sojourn in the wilderness till the generation that had sinned should be entirely consumed. The above passage, therefore, tells us, that Solomon's ships intended for Tartessus were to sail up the Red Sea, pass the straits of Babelmandeb, and go round Africa by the Cape of Good Hope, taking Ophir, which lay somewhere in that direction, in their way. This was certainly a circuitous passage, and might well take three years to accomplish, in their coasting way of sailing, before the discovery of the compass. Unless, therefore, one had strong reasons to the contrary, he would be led to explain the word rendered Tarshish, not as a city, but as descriptive of the ships engaged in that enterprise: for Tarshish is compounded of **ת** a merchant, and **שש** white linen or cotton; and the verse might have been rendered "Jehoshaphat made ships of merchandise freighted with fine linen or cotton to Ophir, in exchange for gold: but they went not, for the ships were broken at Ezion-geber," by a tempest probably, while they were getting ready to sail.—As it is generally believed, however, that the words in our translation are rightly rendered, and that the ships intended for Tarshish did sail from Ezion-geber, at the foot of the Red Sea; it next becomes a question, whether they really doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and went to Tartessus in Spain, or whether there might not be a city of that name somewhere in the Indian ocean, nearer than the Cape? Those who maintain that they doubled the Cape, and went to Tartessus, place Ophir somewhere on the coast of Arabia or Africa, and show that the passage by the Cape, from Asia to Europe, was no new discovery by Vasco di Gama in the

year 1497, but only the revival of one anciently known, and afterwards lost during the dark ages, when men became ignorant of the records of history ; for Herodotus tells us,^a that this very voyage was made by the Phœnicians in the reign of Pharaoh-necho, who lived about 200 years after Solomon, and that they sailed from the Red Sea, and returned by the Mediterranean, performing it in three years, which was just the same time that the voyage under Solomon had taken up. And it appears from Pliny,^b that the passage round the Cape of Good Hope was known and practised before his time, by one Eudoxus, in the time of Ptolemy Lathyrus, king of Egypt.—These, it will be noticed, set out from the Red Sea, and went to the straits of Gibraltar ; but, before the invention of the mariner's compass, every attempt in a contrary direction, from the straits of Gibraltar to the Red Sea, failed of success.—History records two of these, viz. Sataspes, who was sent by Xerxes, and whose voyage, with all its difficulties, is described by Herodotus (in Melpom.,) and Hanno by the Carthagenians, who wrote a periplus of his own voyage. The following observations by Montesquieu^c will sufficiently account for the failure : “The capital point,” says he, “in surrounding Africa was, to discover and double the Cape of Good Hope.—Those who set out from the Red Sea, found this Cape nearer by half than it would have been in setting out from the Mediterranean.—The shore from the Red Sea is not so shallow, as that from the Cape to Hercules' Pillars. The discovery of the Cape by Hercules' Pillars, was owing to the invention of the compass, which permitted them to leave the coast of Africa, and to launch out into the vast ocean, in order to sail towards the island of St. Helena, or towards the coasts of

^a iv. 42. ^b Hist. Nat. ii. 67. ^c Spirit of Laws, book xxi. ch. 10.

Brazil. It was therefore very possible for them to sail from the Red Sea into the Mediterranean, but not to set out from the Mediterranean to return by the Red Sea. Thus, without making this grand circuit, after which they could hardly ever hope to return, it was most natural (for the ancients) to trade to the east of Africa by the Red Sea, and to the western coast (of Africa,) by Hercules' Pillars."

On these grounds, then, it certainly appears, that the ancients were not ignorant of the passage from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, and, consequently, to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope; but there still appears a difficulty, why Solomon and Jehoshaphat should prefer the circuitous route by the Cape, to the direct line from Tyre to the straits of Gibraltar. This, therefore, hath led the advocates of the second opinion to suggest that there might be another Tarshish and Ophir, even nearer than the Cape, somewhere on the coast of Arabia, on the East, or on the coast of Africa on the west, and, most probably, on the latter:—for the astonishment which filled the whole of Europe, Egypt, and the East, at the discovery of the Indian sea by Alexander the Great, is to them a sufficient proof that the fleets of Solomon did not trade to India; and Africa is preferred to Arabia from this consideration, that, in trading to the countries east of the Red Sea, bullion has always been carried thither as the exchange for commodities, and never brought back as an article of trade; whereas the Jewish fleets brought gold and silver as a part of their cargo from Ophir; a circumstance which corresponds with the trade with Africa, where these metals abound, but not with Arabia and India, where they are deficient. The espousers, therefore, of this opinion think that they are led by a kind of neces-

sity to look for Tarshish and Ophir somewhere between the mouth of the Red Sea and the Cape of Good Hope.

I know none who hath defended this opinion equal to Mr. Bruce in his history of Abyssinia,* and shall therefore state it nearly in his own words. He places Ophir in the kingdom of Sofala, in Africa, opposite to Madagascar, near the head of the river Zambese, where were gold and silver mines, and evident marks of ancient excavations; and Tarshish he places in the small harbour of Mocha, near Melinda. His reasoning is as follows: In the Red Sea a monsoon blows from April to October north-west, and from November till April south-east. Between the bottom of the Red Sea and Cape Gardafan the winds are south-west, or variable. The next monsoon is between Cape Gardafan and Tarshish, which blows from October till April north-east, and from May to October south-west. The third monsoon is between Tarshish and Sofala, where it blows from May till October north-east, and south-west from October till May. Now let us see how these monsoons make the voyage from Ezion-geber to Sofala, and the return from thence, just three years. Suppose the vessels trading to Ophir or Sofala sailed from Ezion-geber in June, with the monsoon at north, which carried them to Mocha, near the straits of Babelmandeb: there the monsoon failed them, by the change of the direction of the gulf. The south-west winds, which blow between Cape Gardafan in the Indian ocean, forced themselves round the Cape, so as to be felt in the road of Mocha, and make it uneasy riding there. But these soon change, the weather becomes moderate, and Mr. Bruce supposes that the vessels in August would be safe at anchor under Cape Gardafan.—Here, however, they would be obliged

* Vol. i. p. 427, &c. 4to edit.

to stay till November, because, in all these summer months, the wind, south of the Cape, was a south-west one, directly in the teeth of the voyage to Sofala: but this time would not be lost. Part of the goods to be ready at their return, where ivory, frankincense, and myrrh, and the ships were then at the principal mart for these. Mr. Bruce supposes that in November the vessels sailed with the wind at north-east, with which they would soon have made their voyage, had they not, off the coast of Melinda, in the beginning of December, met with an anomalous monsoon at south-east, which cut off their voyage to Sofala, and obliged them to put into the small harbour of Mocha, near Melinda, or the very place which Mr. Bruce takes for Tarshish. Thus, in the voyage from Ezion-geber, there were two Mochas; the one within the straits of Babelmandeb, the other near Melinda.—At this last, the ships were obliged to stay till the month of April, in the second year; but the time spent at Mocha, near Melinda, or the Tarshish of Mr. Bruce, was not lost, for part of their cargo was to be brought from that port, and it was probably bespoke to be ready at their return from Sofala. In May the wind set in at north-east, and probably carried them that same month to Sofala: but from this May in the second year, till the end of the monsoon in October, the vessels could not stir, the wind being north-east. There was, however, no delay; for the whole of that time would be necessary for getting their cargo and making ready for their return. The ships then sailed for home, in the month of November, the second year, with the monsoon south-west, which, in a very few weeks, would have brought them to the Red Sea; but, off Mocha, or Tarshish, near Melinda, they met with the north-east monsoon, and were obliged to go into that port till the end of it.—After which, a south-west wind came to their

relief, in May, of the third year, with which they reached Mocha, within the straits of Babelmandeb; and there they were again confined, by the summer monsoon blowing up the Red Sea from Suez, till October or November, when it changed from north-west to south-east, and brought them in safety to Ezion-geber, whence they had set out, in the middle or end of December, the third year. They had no need of more time to complete their voyage, and it was not possible they could do it in less. In short, they felt the change of the monsoons six times, which is thirty-six months; and Mr. Bruce remarks, that there is not another combination of monsoons over the globe, as far as is known, that can effect the same.

We have been thus long on the voyage of Solomon's ships to Tarshish and Ophir, as being the only one which the Jews seem to have made; for, although Elath and Ezion-geber are sometimes mentioned, it does not appear that the commerce carried on at these ports tended to enrich the Jewish nation. Indeed, Josephus says, in his Book against Appian, that his nation, being entirely employed in agriculture, knew little of navigation. The Jews, therefore, traded only occasionally in the Red Sea. They took from the Idumeans Elath and Ezion-geber, from whom they received this commerce: they lost these cities, and with them lost their taste for navigation and foreign trade.*

* 2 Kings xvi. 6. See some sensible observations on the Jewish trade by the Red Sea, in Frideaux, Connection, vol. i. p. 5—10.

SECT. XII.

The Jewish Mode of Warfare.

Causes of the Jewish wars ; number of their armies ; degree of efficiency ; arms a helmet, breastplate, habergeon, girdle, greaves, sword, shield, battle-ax, sling, bow, quiver, poisoned arrows. The Jewish cavalry : their accoutrements ; chariots of war ; camels of the kings of Midian ; qualifications of an ancient warrior ; time of going to war ; methods taken to distress an invading enemy ; order of encampment among the Jews ; camps on hills ; religious ceremony before fighting ; method of fighting ; their cruelty afterwards. The transplanting of nations ; making of treaties ; return of the victor with triumphal songs ; armies disbanded after their return ; public armour lodged in public repositories ; war destructive to the male population ; connexion of the sword with famine and pestilence. The improvement which christianity has made in war.

THE causes of war among the Jews resembled those of other nations, with the exceptions which arose from the peculiarity of their situation : for in their first wars they were enjoined by the Supreme Being, as king of Israel, the punisher of vice, and the disposer of kingdoms, to exterminate the Canaanites, and plant themselves in their room ; and, in their subsequent expeditions, they either fought with the surrounding nations for the redress of particular grievances, or with each other, after the establishment of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. As for the times posterior to those of the Old Testament, and prior to those of the New, the Jews were always so reduced as to be forced to yield to their more powerful neighbours ; yet, so far favoured by them, as to enjoy both their religion and their laws : till, in the days of our Saviour, they became a Roman province, and afterwards ceased to exist as a nation.

But leaving the causes which influenced the Jews in their several wars, let us attend to the state of the Jewish army.—And on this subject we may notice, that the numbers which they brought into the field were very

great. Thus, in revenging the death of the Levite's concubine, the Israelites collected 400,000 footmen that drew the sword to fight against the Benjamites, who could muster only 26,000.^a When Saul, immediately after he was made king, went to relieve Jabesh Gilead from the Ammonites, he had 330,000:^b and when he went to destroy Amalek he had 210,000.^c These, we may naturally suppose, were a levy en masse, rather than a regular army. But, under a succession of kings, they assumed a more warlike character, and became more effective, being trained up to the use of arms as a militia; an enrollment made of those who were most expert; and arms given them when called to the field, if they had none of their own. It is no wonder, then, that we read of 340,822 expert, and ready armed for the war, who came to make David king;^d and, when he numbered the people, of 1,608,000 that drew the sword, independent of the tribe of Benjamin, which was not numbered.^e Indeed, all those of the military age seem to have been more or less trained, and in a state of requisition. But his standing army was only 288,000, which were on duty one month in the year, or 24,000 at a time.^f Such was the military force of Judea in the days of David. Solomon, his son, was of a different character. His care was rather to preserve and improve his territory than to enlarge it; yet he was not indifferent to the national defence: he was, indeed, the first who introduced cavalry into the Jewish army; for, at the beginning of his reign, he had 1400 chariots, and 12,000 horsemen;^g and at the end of it he had 4000 chariots, and 12,000 horsemen.^h This change was introduced for two reasons: 1st, That he might cope with his

^a Judg. xx. 2. 15.^b 1 Sam. xi. 8.^c 1 Sam. xv. 4.^d 1 Chron. xii. 23—38.^e 1 Chron. xxi. 5. xxiii. 3.^f 1 Chron. xxvii. 1—15.^g 2 Chron. i. 14.^h 2 Chron. ix. 25.

enemies in the same species of force ; and 2dly, Because he could afford the expense, from his attention to commerce, which increased the quantity of the precious metals : but in doing so he acted against the command of God, in Deut. xvii. 16. When his son Rehoboam lost the ten tribes by his imprudence, he collected from Judah and Benjamin alone 180,000 chosen men ;^a and his son Abijah had 400,000 valiant men when he fought against Jeroboam king of Israel, who had 800,000 mighty men of valour.^b If we descend farther down the Jewish history, we shall still find them maintaining a military character, till they were carried away to Babylon. Thus Asa, the son of Abijah, had of those that bare targets and spears, out of Judah 300,000, and out of Benjamin, that bare shields and drew bows, 280,000, making a total of 580,000, all mighty men of valour, with which he fought against Zerah king of Ethiopia, who had a million of infantry, and 300 chariots.^c In Jehoshaphat's reign the military force in Judah was 780,000, and in Benjamin 380,000, making a total of 1,160,000, besides those in the fenced cities to garrison them.^d Amaziah could number 300,000 choice men in Judah and Benjamin above twenty years old, and hired 100,000 from Ephraim.^e And Uzziah, king of Judah, had an army of 307,500, under 2600 leaders, who made war with mighty power.^f The above particulars, it will be noticed, refer chiefly to the kingdom of Judah, because these only are mentioned in Scripture ; but we may suppose that the kingdom of Israel had warriors in proportion : and from the whole we may conclude, that from the troubled state of these kingdoms, either by internal jealousies or external wars, every man almost that could

^a 2 Chron. xi. 1.

^b 2 Chron. xiii. 3.

^c 2 Chron. xiv. 8, 9.

^d 2 Chron. xvii. 14—18.

^e 2 Chron. xxv. 5, 6.

^f 2 Chron. xxvi. 12, 13.

bear arms was a soldier ; that many of them had arms of their own, and that, when called to the field, each would carry his portion of provisions, without becoming a burden to the state.

It is easy to see, however, that this last regulation would be subject to several limitations, and that different methods would be adopted according to circumstances.—Thus, in Judg. xx. 10, when the Israelites went against Benjamin, to revenge the injury done to the Levite's concubine, one tenth of the army was appointed to forage for the rest.—And, in a much later period of the Jewish history, Josephus informs us,* that the way he provisioned his army in Galilee was as follows : “The cities sent out half their men to the army, and retained the other half at home, in order to get provisions for them : insomuch, that the one part went to the war, and the other part to their work ; and so those that sent out their corn were paid for it by those that were in arms, by that security which they enjoyed from them.” It is probable that this method would be often resorted to in regular sieges or campaigns ; but in shorter expeditions they would act as we formerly said, and as Josephus tells us in his Life he made his army in Galilee do, “when he had given orders that 5000 of them should come to him armed, and with provisions for their maintenance, he sending the rest away to their homes.” A little after, on another sudden expedition, he ordered a detachment of 200, and another of 600, “to take their arms, to bring three days' provisions with them, and to be with him next day,” in order to guard the roads, and intercept the couriers that were going from his enemies to Jerusalem. We have the same custom of providing their own food on these sudden expeditions mentioned by him five days after the

* War. ii. 20.

former detachments had been sent off; for he tells us, that when he was at Gabaroth, he found the entire plain that was before the village full of armed men, who had come out of Galilee to assist him, and that his advice to them, after returning them his acknowledgments, was, "to fight with nobody, nor to spoil the country, but to pitch their tents in the plain, and be content with the sustenance they had brought with them; for that he intended to compose the troubles which threatened him and them without bloodshed."

The arms of the Jewish warrior were different according to circumstances.—Thus, some of the infantry were clothed in complete armour, consisting of a helmet of brass,^a a habergeon, cuirass, or breastplate of brass, a defence for the back, a girdle for the loins, and greaves of brass for the legs and feet,^b with a sword for the right hand, and a shield or buckler for the left.—Hence the beautiful allusion to all these in St. Paul's description of the christian soldier, in Eph. vi. 13—17, where nothing is left undefended but the back, to teach us that Christ hates a coward, and an apostate; that as long as we undauntedly face the foe we are safe; but if we turn our backs, we do it at our hazard. But although some individuals in the Jewish armies were completely armed, the greater part were in ordinary clothing, and arranged into companies, according to their armour. Thus, one part had swords and bucklers; another spears and javelins; a third battle-axes;^c a fourth slings;^d and a fifth bows.^e These bows were sometimes made of steel,^f which, if three cubits long, as was the case with those of the Persians mentioned by Xenophon, must have had

^a 1 Sam. xvii. 5.

^b 1 Sam. xvii. 6.

^c Jer. li. 20.

^d Judg. xx. 16. 2 Kings iii. 25.

^e 1 Sam. xxxi. 3. 1 Chron. v. 18. xii. 2.

^f Job xx. 24. Ps. xviii. 34.

great power.^a Bows in the East are also generally kept in cases, to prevent their being injured ; hence, many of the human figures on the walls of the ancient palace at Persepolis are represented carrying bow-cases ;^b and the bow of Minerva, in Homer,^c is said to have been cased ; which may serve to explain what is said in Hab. iii. 9, “Thy bow was made quite naked :” meaning that it was taken from its case, and ready for use. Every one must see that quivers full of arrows were absolutely necessary to such a division of the army : but it is not generally noticed that the Jews were acquainted with the use of poisoned arrows : at least, this much may be conjectured from what is said in Job vi. 4, where, in allusion to them, he says, “The arrows of the Almighty are within me, the poison whereof drinketh up my spirit.” That various nations among the heathen used such arrows we have good authority. Every classical scholar recollects the *venenatæ sagittæ* of the ancient Moors ;^d the envenomed arrows and javelins of the Parthians ;^e and the journey of Ulysses to Ephyra, a city in Thessaly, in Homer,^f to procure deadly poison, for smearing his brazen-pointed arrows, from Ilus, the son of Mermerus, a descendant of Medea and Jason. In the latter period of the Jewish state, the short sword, or scimitar, was in use ; and it was with these that the Sicarii, or robbers, committed so many murders.—For Josephus tells us, that “they made use of small swords, not much different in length from the Persian *acinacæ*, but somewhat crooked, and like the Roman *sicæ*, or sickles, and with these they slew a great many : for they mingled themselves among the multitude at their festivals, when they were come up in crowds, from all

^a Anab. iv.^b Niebuhr, Voy. tom. ii. p. 104, and tab. 21, 22, 29.^c Iliad iv. 105, &c.^d Hor. lib. i. od. 22.^e Virgil. Æneid xii. 837.^f Odyssey, lib. i. 260.

parts, to the city, to worship God, and easily slew those they had a mind to slay."^a If they were thus formidable in the hands of the ruffian, they would be equally so in the hands of the regularly trained soldier. We have only once mention made of the Sicarii in Scripture, viz. in Acts xxi. 38, where we read of a certain Egyptian, who led out four thousand murderers (*σικαριαι*;) into the wilderness.

The Jewish cavalry, although they had bridles, to direct them in their course, had no saddles: for, as De Goguet observes,^b "no nation of antiquity knew the use of either saddles or stirrups:" their only covering being a cloth, similar, perhaps, to that which is used by the Arabians at the present day;^c and it is well known that the shoeing of horses with plates of iron round the hoof was also unknown to the ancients: for the horses' shoes of leather and of iron, which are mentioned by the ancients, and the shoes of silver and of gold with which Nero and Poppea shod their mules, were not like those in present use, but cases which enclosed the whole hoof.—Hence the value which they put upon flint hoofed horses; and hence the reason why the prophet Isaiah^d speaks of "horses' hoofs which should be counted as flint." A troop of Jewish cavalry, therefore, would have their horses unshod; their bridles of a simple but efficient construction; and horse-cloths, without stirrups, to sit upon, in place of saddles; while the riders would depend on their swords or their spears.—Yet this species of cavalry was not the only one that was attached to the Jewish army, for a considerable part sometimes consisted of chariots, which held two persons, viz. the charioteer who directed the horses,

^a Antiq. xx. 8.

^b Origin of Laws, vol. iii. p. 172.

^c Hasselquist, p. 52.

^d Is. v. 28.

and the warrior who fought with the spear or the bow. As for the chariots of iron which the Canaanites had, when the Israelites entered the country,^a they were not probably of solid iron, since that would have rendered them too weighty, but either covered with plates of iron, or had such parts of them made of iron as would prevent their breaking down in the day of battle. It is uncertain, however, whether they used scythes at the sides of the chariots, as some have thought, in order to render them more destructive; for we never hear of these in history, till Cyrus introduced them among the Persians, which was considerably later than the period of the Jewish military glory.^b As for camels and mules, although they were used for other purposes, they did not make a part of the Jewish armies. The kings of Midian, indeed, are said to have had camels with chains about their necks when they were discomfited by Gideon;^c but these were rather as marks of state than for attack, like those agas in Egypt whom Dr. Pococke saw,^d whose camels had chains of silver hanging from the bridle to the breastplate.

The qualifications of a warrior now, and in the times of which we are speaking, are widely different; for, at present, the merit of a soldier consists in implicitly obeying the commands of his general, without aspiring to have a will of his own: but anciently, the meanest soldier had an opportunity of distinguishing himself. His bodily strength, if great, enabled him to bear down his opponent, and, when that was wanting his dexterity in the use of arms, his pretended flight and sudden return, were all employed to deceive and defeat his adversary, whilst the closeness of the combat rendered the

^a Josh. xvii. 16. 18. Judg. i. 19. iv. 3.

^c Judg. viii. 26.

^b Cyropæd. Lib. vi. p. 324.

^d Vol. i. p. 264.

disarming or death of his antagonist the only means of preserving himself. Bodily strength, therefore, complete presence of mind, experience in the art of war, and swiftness as a roe, when swiftness was necessary, either to pursue after or avoid the foe, were indispensable ingredients in an ancient warrior; whilst his eye acquired an animation, his countenance an expression, his voice a variety of cadence, and his whole frame a degree of athletic force which are in vain sought for in the mechanical mass of a modern army. Nor should we forget, that the valour of the Jews had often peculiar motives to strengthen it, viz. the motives of religion; for they frequently went to the field under the immediate direction of Jehovah, and with the positive assurance of success.

The warmth of friendship amongst companions in arms has been often admired. It is formed by their peculiar habits, frequent intercourse, and common danger. The ancient soldiers, therefore, loved each other as brethren, and delighted to bestow or accept tokens of affection. Thus Jonathan gave his armour to David, as Thrasymed afterwards did to Ulysses and Diomed, when they were about to visit the Trojan camp as spies^a for it is worthy of remark, that officers of the first rank and character did not, in those early days, hesitate to do what is now the task of the common soldiers. Thus Gideon went as a spy by night into the camp of the Midianites,^b and Jonathan into that of the Philistines.^c

In Judea the time of war, unless in cases of immediate urgency, is said to have been either in spring or autumn, but most generally in spring. Hence the Moabites are said to have invaded Judea "at the coming in of the

^a Iliad x. 255—260.

^b Judges vii. 11.

^c 1 Sam. xiv. 1.

year;"^a and David is said to have sent Joab to destroy the Ammonites, "after the year was expired, at the time when kings go out to battle,"^b which may either mean in April, when the ecclesiastical year had expired, at the vernal equinox, as Benhadad,^c and Cræsus;^d or in October, when the civil year had expired, at the autumnal equinox. Basnage explains Joab's expedition to have been at the latter time;^e but Holofernes' army took the field in spring, as is evident from his reaching Damascus in wheat harvest, or May.^f At whatever time, however, they went to war, the Jews made it a point of religion, during the whole period of the Old Testament history, neither to attack an enemy nor defend themselves on the sabbath day. And it was not till the days of Mattathias, the father of the Maccabees, that the practice was changed, in consequence of a thousand Jews having been killed by the soldiers of Antiochus Epiphanes on that holy day, who feared that by defending themselves they would violate the sabbath:^g yet even then they were guilty of a strange inconsistency, for though they considered it no violation of the sabbath to defend themselves in battle, they allowed their enemies to erect works during a siege on that day, without the least molestation, which was taken advantage of by them, and was, indeed, the principal occasion of Jerusalem's being taken first by Pompey,^h then by Sosius,ⁱ and, lastly, by Titus. The first instance we have of the Jews acting offensively on the sabbath is, when on the approach of Cestius Gallus with a Roman army to Jerusalem, after the murder of some of the people of Lydda, those who attended the feast of

^a 2 Kings xiii. 20.

^b 2 Sam. xi. 1. 1 Chron. xx. 1.

^c 1 Kings xx. 26. Joseph. Antiq. viii. 14. ^d Prideaux Conn. A.A.C. 548.

^e Relig. of the Jews, book v. ch. 10.

^f Judith ii. 27. iv. 5.

^g 1 Macc. ii. 32—41.

^h Antiq. xiv. 4.

ⁱ Antiq. xiv. 16.

tabernacles were so enraged that they left the feast, attacked him even on the sabbath day, and overcame him.^a

War is at all times destructive, but it is the duty of those who are attacked to do every thing in their power to defend themselves, and destroy the resources of an invading enemy. Hence the conduct of Hezekiah, in stopping up all the fountains near Jerusalem, that he might the more effectually distress the army of the Assyrians.^b We are not particularly informed how this was done, so as not to injure the future usefulness of the wells; but the following extract from the Hon. Mr. Elphinstone may give us a key to it; for he says, that “on his road to Cabul, near the head of the Indus, he met with very deep wells, several three hundred, and one three hundred and forty-five feet deep. Their insides were lined with masonry, and they have a way of covering them with boards, heaped with sand, that effectually conceals them from an enemy.”^c The Jews had also another practice, of throwing filth into springs and tanks, or reservoirs of rain water, to render them useless to their invaders; a practice alluded to in Prov. xxv. 26, for in a season of drought nothing would sooner destroy an army; and Josephus adds, that they laid up their corn in citadels in such seasons, and burnt the grass with fire.^d

When the Israelites were encamped, there seems to have been a certain order observed; for the spear of a chief is mentioned in 1 Sam. xxvi. 7, as having been stuck in the ground, at his head, while he slept (like Diomed’s afterwards, *Iliad* x. 150—155,) and was equivalent to the place of the general’s tent. His armour-bearer and principal officers slept around him,

^a Joseph. War, ii. 19.

^b 2 Kings xxxii. 3, 4.

^c Account of the kingdom of Cabul, Introd. p. 6.

^d Antiq. xx. 4.

and the rest of the army, in their different divisions, in a circle without. We may suppose, therefore, that this was their general manner of encampment, for neither in the Scriptures nor in Josephus do we meet with any regularly formed camps, like those of the Romans. Indeed, being always near home, there was little occasion for them, and armies of their description would be little inclined to take the precautions that were reckoned necessary for the safety of the Romans when in foreign countries, and surrounded by enemies: yet the Jews were no strangers to the Roman tactics in the latter period of their history, and Josephus has given the most accurate description we have any where, of the Roman camp under Vespasian, the arms of the Roman soldier, the order of the Roman army while on the march, and their manner of attacking fortified cities.^a

We may, add, that in the latter period of the Jewish state, when the Romans obtained a footing in Judea, the Jewish soldiers, from their peculiar rites, found a difficulty in brigading with the Roman troops, and, therefore, all those of them who obtained the privilege of Roman citizens were exempted from serving in the Roman armies. Josephus has preserved the decrees which gave them these privileges.^b

Before the Jews engaged in battle, the following ceremonies were observed: 1st, The priest approached them and said, "Hear, O Israel, ye approach this day into battle against your enemies; let not your hearts faint; fear not, and do not tremble, neither be ye terrified because of them: for the Lord your God is He that goeth with you, to fight for you against your enemies, to save you." Thus did religion lend its aid to

^a War, iii. 5, 6, 7. v. 2.

^b Antiq. xiv. 10.

valour and the love of their country. 2dly, The officers proclaimed to the army, that all who had built a new house, and had not dedicated it, or who had planted a vineyard, and had not eaten the fruit thereof, or had betrothed a wife, and had not married her, or who were fearful and faint-hearted, might return to their several homes, which was purging the army of disaffection. And then, 3dly, The whole that remained being as one man, hearty in the cause, were led forward to the battle.^a Josephus mentions an additional circumstance observed by Herod, viz. the offering of sacrifices before he made war against the Arabians.^b It is not to be expected that the Jewish writers, at the beginning of an expedition, should always have mentioned the observance of the above law; but to show that it was acted upon in a late period of the Jewish history, I may remark, that Judas Maccabæus, before attacking the Syrians, proclaimed it, which reduced his army from 6000 to 3000, and yet with these he obtained a victory.^c

As for the battle itself, after giving the watchword, like Judas Maccabæus,^d it was sometimes open and pitched, and at other times a part of the army lay in ambush, while the rest showed themselves to the enemy;^e and if one of the armies was afraid to engage, it sometimes made use of a *ruse de guerre*, in kindling fires in the usual manner, and then escaping under covert of night. This was the plan that Demetrius took when afraid of Jonathan.^f Every one recollects also the stratagem by which Gideon overcame the Midianites in the night, by his little army of 300 men with their trumpets, and lamps concealed in empty pitchers, till

^a Deut. xx. 1—9.

^c Prideaux, Connect. A.A.C. 166.

^e Josh. vii. 4, 5.

^b Antiq. xiv. 5. War, i. 19.

^d 2 Macc. viii. 23. xiii. 15.

^f 1 Macc. xii. 28, 29.

they came unexpectedly upon them.^a Niebuhr mentions something of the same kind as practised by Achmed, an iman in the south of Africa, against his antagonist Bel Arrab. "He divided his little troop," says he, "into detachments, who seized the passes of the valleys and sounded their trumpets. Bel Arrab, supposing himself to be circumvented by a strong army, was struck with a panic, fled, and was slain in his flight by a son of Achmed."^b Fenced cities, before the invention of fire-arms, were commonly much depended on, and the taking of them was a matter both of difficulty and of time. They either, therefore, drew lines of circumvallation, to prevent escape, or hewed down trees and built forts against them round about;^c or planted battering rams;^d or endeavour to enter them by burning the gates, and cutting the towers of wood that were around them with axes.^e Every method, indeed, seems to have been taken that could ensure success.

But the most careless reader of scripture must have noticed the horrors to which the besieged were sometimes reduced,^f and the difference of treatment as to the captives in ancient and modern times; for, independent of that severity which God enjoined with respect to the Canaanites, to punish them for their profligacy, and ensure the future safety and morals of Israel, we find the conquerors setting their feet on the necks of their enemies,^g cutting off the heads of some,^h the noses and ears of others,ⁱ and the hands and feet of others,^k putting them under saws and harrows of iron, and making them pass through the brick kiln,^l whilst

^a Judg. vii. 16—22.

^b Heron's edit. vol. ii. p. 98.

^c 2 Kings xxv. 1. Is. xxix. 3. Jer. vi. 6.

^d Ezek. iv. 2. xxi. 22.

^e Ezek. xxvi. 9. ^f 2 Kings vi. 25—29. Jer. xix. 9. Lam. ii. 20. iv. 10.

^g Josh. x. 24.

^h 1 Sam. xxxi. 9.

ⁱ Ezek. xxiii. 25.

^k 2 Sam. iv. 12.

^l 2 Sam. xii. 31.

they emasculated the seed royal, to prevent their aspiring to the throne.^a Even the fair sex were most shamefully abused, for some were exposed to a brutal soldiery;^b mothers were destroyed with their children,^c children were dashed against the stones,^d and women with child ripped up,^e whilst those of rank were wantonly stripped naked, to walk in that state exposed to every inclemency of the weather,^f and often reduced to hard labour, like the meanest slaves.^g Sometimes the vengeance of the conqueror took a wider range, in measuring out certain districts for destruction,^h and casting the utmost contempt on the buildings accounted sacred. Thus Jehu converted the house of Baal into a draught house,ⁱ in the same manner as Abbas, king of Persia, did afterwards to the tomb of Hanifah, one of the fathers of the Turkish church, which was used as a place of prayer when he took Bagdad;^k nay, they sowed even the very foundations of cities sometimes with salt, as a token of utter destruction.^l Such were the marks of their immediate vengeance; but, to prevent their enemies from rebelling in future, they burnt also their shields, bows, spears, and chariots,^m shut up their springs, marred their ground with stones,ⁿ and forbade them the making of warlike instruments,^o and the use of iron, either by taking away the artificers to a distance, as Nebuchadnezzar did to Judah;^p or forcing the people to go to the countries of their enemies, when

^a Is. xxxix. 7.

^b Zech. xiv. 2.

^c Esther iii. 13.

^d 2 Kings viii. 12. Ps. cxxxvii. 9. Is. xlii. 16. 18.

^e 2 Kings xv. 16. Hosea xlii. 16. Amos i. 13.

^f Lowth's note on Is. xlii. 7. See also Is. xx. 4. xlvii. 3. Micah i. 11.

^g Is. xlvii. 2.

^h 2 Sam. viii 2.

ⁱ 2 Kings x. 27.

^k Clarke's Harmer, ch. ix. ob. 89.

^l Judg. ix. 45.

^m Josh. ix. 6. Ps. xli. 9. Ezek. xxxix. 9, 10. Nahum ii. 13.

ⁿ 2 Kings iii. 19. 25. ^o Judg. v. 8.

^p 2 Kings xxiv. 14. 16. Jer. xxix. 2.

near at hand, as the Philistines did the Israelites, when their ploughshares required sharpening.^a Pliny tells us that Porsenna, the king of Etruria, when wishing to re-establish the Tarquins on the throne of Rome, acted in a similar manner to the Roman, by making it an article in the treaty that they should use no iron, except for tilling the ground.^b But if all these methods were unable to repress the spirit of liberty, these haughty conquerors would then return, like an overflowing flood, and carry them away into a foreign land, as Rabshakeh purposed in the days of Hezekiah,^c and as Israel and Judah were afterwards carried into Assyria and Babylon. From our peculiar habits we are apt to consider these as solitary facts, but they completely comport with the policy of the East; for it was done by Joseph, though on a less scale, when, during the famine, “he removed the Egyptians to cities from the one end of the borders of Egypt even to the other end thereof.”^d in order to make them forget their paternal possessions, and the incitements to dissatisfaction, which these might have created on the return of plenty; and it will, perhaps, be recollected that there are instances of transplanting nations even in modern times. Thus, A. D. 796, “Charlemagne transplanted the Saxons from their own country into Flanders and the country of the Helvetians, in order to oblige them to remain faithful to him, and repopled their own country by the Adrites, a Sclavonian nation.” Hanway tells us, that “it was the policy of Abbas I, who ascended the throne of Persia in 1585, to transplant the inhabitants of conquered countries from one country to another, with a view not only of preventing any danger from their disaffection, but

^a 1 Sam. xiii. 19—21.

^b Hist. Nat. Lib. xxxiv. cap. 14.

^c 2 Kings xviii. 31, 32.

^d Gen. xlvii. 21.

^e Hainault, Abrégé Chronol. de l'Histoire de France, tom. i. p. 65.

likewise of depopulating the countries exposed to an enemy;^a and the Hon. Mr. Elphinstone informs us, that "the Giljies moved from a great part of their lands, at the command of Nadir Shah, and made room for a portion of the Dooraunees,"—adding, that "it is frequently the policy of the Asiatic princes to move their subjects from one place to another, sometimes with the view of obtaining an industrious colony, or an attached soldiery, in a favoured part of the country, and more frequently to break the strength of a rebellious clan or nation."^b

With respect to the spoils taken from the enemy, and the proportions in which these were divided among the different ranks in the army, we have no distinct regulation; but we find David enacting a very wise and equitable one as to those who fought, and those who remained with the staff or baggage: they were from that time to have an equal proportion of whatever should be taken, man by man;^c and as for making treaties, this, in the absence of written records, was commonly done by some lasting monument to perpetuate the transaction. Thus Laban and Jacob collected a heap of stones to serve as a witness that they should not pass it to do each other harm.^d Saul, after smiting the Amalekites, "set him up a place," literally "a hand," (יד *Id*;) that is, as some have thought, a pillar made in the form of a hand, as the emblem of power;^e and David smote Hadadezer, king of Zobah, "as he went to recover his border at the river Euphrates," literally "as he went to erect his hand or trophy by the river Euphrates."^f Every one must have remarked, when reading Josephus, that, in the latter part of the Jewish history particularly,

^a *Revolutions of Persia*, vol. iii. p. 164. ^b *Hist. of Cabul*, b. ii. ch. 7. 12.

^c 1 Sam. xxx. 24, 25.

^d Gen. xxxi. 44—54.

^e 1 Sam. xv. 12.

^f 2 Sam. viii. 3.

the offer of the right hand of a chief was an indication of friendship, and the giving the right hand was considered as security for the faithful performance of the conditions offered.* But a more remarkable manner of entering into covenant was that mentioned in Jer. xxxiv. 18, 19, where an animal was divided in twain, and the contracting parties passed between the parts. It seems to have been of very ancient origin, for it is mentioned in Gen. xv. 17, when God made a covenant with Abraham, and was probably copied from thence by the heathens. Thus *ορκια ποτα ταυοντες*,^b and *ορκ' ορκια ταυνη*,^c is explained by verse 245, which Eustathius expressly refers to "oaths relating to important matters confirmed by dividing the victim." The same thing is mentioned by Virgil;^d and Dictys Cretensis^e says, that "Agamemnon, to confirm his faith to Achilles, took a victim, and having divided it in the midst with his sword, placed the pieces opposite to each other, and holding his sword, reeking with the blood of the victim, passed between the several pieces."

But let us accompany the conquerors home, and notice how their advent was hailed by their admiring countrymen.—Each male rejoiced in their success, and bands of females met them with instruments of music, who, like the minstrels of latter times, celebrated their praises in extempore songs. It was thus that Jephthah, the daughter of Gideon, met her father with timbrels and dances when he returned from subduing the Ammonites;^f and thus that the women of Israel, in all the cities they passed, sang the praises of Saul and David, after the death of Goliath, and the defeat of the Philistines.^g In the subsequent history of the Jews we have

* War, iii. 7. iv. 1, 2.

^b Iliad ii. 124.

^c Iliad iii. 105.

^d Æneid viii. 640.

^e Lib. ii. v.

^f Judg. xi. 34.

^g 1 Sam. xviii. 6, 7.

similar instances of rejoicing: for when Judith slew Holofernes, she and all the people of Israel praised the Lord for their unexpected deliverance.^a When Phasaclus, the eldest son of Hyrcanus, the high-priest, had freed his country from a nest of robbers, the Syrians celebrated his praises in their villages and cities.^b And when Herod the Great accomplished a similar service, he had the same honours paid him by the Jews.^c But in recounting these public expressions of joy, it would be wrong to overlook the Song of Moses, in Exodus xv. 1—21, which is the most ancient lyric poem in the world. The Israelites had seen the overthrow of the Egyptians, in a miraculous manner, and felt the full impulse of gratitude to the Almighty. The males, therefore, of Israel sang the song which Moses had composed, and his sister Miriam, with all the women, joined in the chorus, with timbrels and dances. These public expressions of gratitude for mercies received were natural and impressive: they indicated religious feeling, were a pleasing tribute of gratitude to the deliverers of their country, and a powerful stimulus to make others excel.

After the return of the Jewish armies to their several homes, the military character was laid aside: the militia, which had been raised for the occasion, was disbanded; their warlike instruments, unless those of them that were private property, were delivered up as the property of the state, till some future war should call them forth:^d and themselves returned, like Cincinnatus, to the plough, and the other avocations of private life. It is to this suspending of their arms in some public armory that the prophet alludes, when he says, that "they of Persia, and of Lud, and of Phut, and of Arvad, were in the

^a Judith xvi. 1—17.

^b Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 9.

^c Joseph. War, i. 10.

^d 2 Chron. xi. 12.

Tyrian army, as men of war, and hung up their shields upon its walls round about :^a and to this that the bridegroom refers,^b when he compares the neck of the spouse, ornamented with jewels, to the tower of David for an armory, whereon were hung a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men. We hear nothing among the Jews of votive tablets being hung around the tabernacle or walls of the temple, like those which the heathens suspended, as marks of gratitude for signal deliverances, in the temples of their gods ;^c but there is every reason to suppose that, after a victory, pious kings would offer sacrifices, and pious individuals would express their obligations to the Divine Being, for their deliverance, by free-will offerings.

Nothing has hitherto been said of the grief which the nation felt for a fallen chief : but every one will recollect the pathetic lamentation of David for Saul and Jonathan, and for Abner ;^d and it is probable that, in later times, the mourning which the Jews at Jerusalem made for Josephus, when they thought him dead, after the glorious defence he had made at Jotapata, against the army of Vespasian, was the ordinary way in which they lamented the persons who had distinguished themselves in the service of their country. “ In every house, and among all to whom any of the slain were allied, there was a lamentation for them ; but the mourning for the commander was a public one.—All mourned for Josephus : insomuch, that the lamentation did not cease in the city before the thirtieth day ; and a great many persons hired mourners, with their pipes, to begin the melancholy songs for them.”^e

There are still some observations which ought to be

^a Ezek. xxvii. 10, 11.

^b Cant. iv. 4.

^c Horat. Carm. lib. i. ode 5.

^d 2 Sam. i. 17—27. iii. 31—34.

^e Joseph. War, iii. 9.

noticed before we leave the military affairs of the Jews.—The first is the effect of their barbarous method of making war on the male part of the population of Judea: it destroyed the balance between the sexes, and prevented the increase of children, the desire for which was a prominent feature in the female character of that nation. Isaiah notices this, and places it in a very impressive light, in the following passage: “Thy men shall fall by the sword, and thy mighty in the war. And her gates shall lament and mourn; and she, being desolate, shall sit upon the ground. And in that day, seven women shall take hold of one man, saying, We will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel (dispensing thus with the ordinary provision given to wives,) only let us be called by thy name, to take away our reproach.”^a The second observation respects the frequent mention of the sword, the famine, and the pestilence, as being commonly linked together: for it should be remembered, that whilst the sword destroyed multitudes, it naturally occasioned famine, by the neglect of tillage, the destruction of provisions by the owners in order to prevent them from falling into the enemy’s hands, or the destruction of them by the enemy, to force the owners to surrender at discretion: whilst pestilence as naturally followed famine as famine did the sword; for when a scarcity of food was occasioned, all the diseases attendant on the sudden change from plenty to want, were quickly experienced. The only other observation to be made is, the improvement which Christianity has made in the art of war, in those parts of the world where it prevails; by the restraints it hath laid on princes; the sentiments of honour it hath introduced among contending armies; and the generosity it hath inspired towards captives. Let us

^a Is. iii. 25, 26. iv. 1.

hope for the time, when the peaceful genius of the gospel shall so far prevail, as to expel the dæmon of war from the earth.

SECT. XIII.

Diseases in Judea.

History of Jewish medicine. Leprosy; its symptoms in Leviticus, by Dr. Cullen, Wallis, and Maundrell: elephantiasis, the disease with which Job is thought to have been afflicted: consumption, and burning ague: fever; the botch of Egypt; emerods; scab; itch; madness and blindness. Bowel complaints; menorrhagia; the plague; Hezekiah's boil; stroke of the sun; lunacy; anointing with oil; James v. 14 explained. A catalogue of diseases given by Josephus, the Talmud, and Buxtorff. Demoniacal possession; reason of its frequency in our Saviour's days; advantage of christianity to surgery and physic.

THE most ancient account of physic is that of Egypt, when the physicians embalmed the patriarch Jacob, at the request of Joseph; and of which embalming we shall give an account, when treating of the manner in which the Jews disposed of their dead. Moses styles these physicians servants to Joseph, whence we are certain that they were not priests, as the first physicians are generally supposed to have been: for in that age the Egyptian priests were in such high favour, that they retained their liberty, when, through a public calamity, all the rest of the people became slaves to the king. It is probable, therefore, that among the Egyptians, religion and medicine were not originally conjoined. That the Jewish physicians were absolutely distinct from their priests is very certain: for, when Asa was diseased in his feet, "he sought not to the Lord, but to the physicians." Hence it is clear that, among the Jews, the medicinal art was considered as a mere human invention, and it was thought that the Deity never cured diseases, by making people acquainted with the virtues of any par-

ticular herb, but only by his miraculous power. That the same opinion prevailed among the heathens who resided near the Jews, is also probable, from what is recorded of Ahaziah king of Judah, who, having sent messengers to inquire of Baal-zebub, god of Ekron, concerning his disease, he did not desire any remedy from him or from his priests, but only to know whether he should recover. It is therefore probable, that religion and medicine came to be conjoined only in consequence of that degeneracy into ignorance and superstition which took place among all nations.* We have very few intimations of the state of physic in the Scriptures, but it may be proper to collect what we have, and to compare them with the additional light which travellers and others have thrown on the subject.

The first disease mentioned in Scripture is the *Leprosy* (Lepra,) whose symptoms are thus described in the 13th and 14th chapters of Leviticus: 1st, It sometimes appeared on the arms, body, or feet, as a rising or pimple, a scab, or a bright spot, which in sight appeared deeper than the skin, the hair whereof turned white; and as the disease increased, quick raw flesh appeared in the rising, and when the person became completely leprous, the skin became white and dry. 2dly, A leprosy in the head or beard was distinguished by being in sight deeper than the skin, and the hair of the place became thin and yellow. 3dly, A leprosy in the bald part of the head appeared by a rising sore of a reddish white colour. When garments of linen, wool, or skin, were infected with it, the part appeared of a greenish or reddish colour; according, perhaps, to the colour or nature of the ingredients used in preparing them: for acids convert blue vegetable colours into red, and alkalies change

* Perth, Encycl. art. Medicine.

them into green. And when the walls of a house were infected, they had hollow streaks of a greenish or reddish colour also, which in sight were lower than the wall. Such are the marks of leprosy as given by Moses, and they correspond with the observations of modern writers: thus, Dr. Cullen* describes the skin as rough, with white, branny, and chopped eschars, sometimes moist beneath, with itching; and Wallis tells us, that it first begins with red pimples, or pustules, breaking out in various parts of the body, sometimes single, and sometimes a great number together, especially on the arms and legs; and as the disease increases, fresh pimples appear, which, joining the former, make a sort of clusters, all of which enlarge their borders, and spread in an orbicular form; the superficies of these pustules are rough, whitish, and scaly; when they are scratched, the scales fall off, upon which a thin ichor oozes out, which soon dries and hardens into a scaly crust: these clusters are at first small and few; perhaps only three or four in an arm or leg; but as the disease increases, they become more numerous, and the clusters increase to a considerable breadth, but not exactly round: afterwards it increases to such a degree, that the whole body is covered with a leprous scurf. I am enabled, on the authority of a friend who has often seen the disease, to state, that the apparent depression of the pimple or bright spot below the general surface of the skin, although unnoticed by Cullen or Wallis, is yet, as Moses relates, a distinguishing symptom of the disease. Thus do we see then, that it is both infectious to others and loathsome to themselves; that it was a collection of disagreeable, itchy, hot, burning ulcers at the beginning, and terminated in an universal scurvy, where numberless thin white scales fell from the

* Nosology, Genus 88th.

skin, like bran, and gave it the appearance of snow.^a Maundrell's account of the lepers he saw in the Holy Land is as follows: "When I was in the Holy Land I saw several that laboured under Gehazi's distemper, particularly at Sichem, or Naplosa, there were no less than ten that came a begging to us at one time. Their manner is to come with small buckets in their hands, to receive the alms of the charitable, their touch being still held infectious, or at least unclean. The distemper, as I saw it in them, was very different from what I saw of it in England; for it not only defiles the whole surface of the body with a foul scurf, but also deforms the joints of the body, particularly those of the wrists and ankles, making them swell with a gouty scrofulous substance, very loathsome to look upon. The whole distemper, as it appeared to me, was so noisome, that it might well pass for the utmost corruption of the human body on this side the grave." In the Mosaic law it was considered infectious only in its first stage, that is to say, while the pimples and ulcers continued to spread, for, during that time, the persons infected were either shut up till the priest saw no farther reason, or dwelt without the camp or city,^b having their clothes rent, their heads bare, and a covering on their upper lip, like mourners: while on the approach of any clean person, they were commanded to ward him of his danger, by crying out "Unclean, unclean." But when the whole body became leprous, that is to say, after it became dry and scaly, it was considered no longer dangerous, and the persons were re-admitted into society.^d Thus Naaman the Syrian, although a leper, was captain of the host of the king of Syria, and a great man with his master, and honourable.^e And Jesus, when

^a Exod. iv. 6. Num. xii. 10. 2 Kings v. 27.

^b Num. v. 2.

^c Ezek. xxiv. 17. 22. Micah iii. 7.

^d Levit. xiii. 13—17.

^e 2 Kings v. 1.

at Bethany was entertained in the house of one Simon a leper.^a It does not appear that the Jewish physicians attempted a cure of this disease ; but it has often been found to yield to modern practice ; and I may add, that other nations besides the Jews had distinctive habits for lepers : for Megabyzus, having escaped from Cyrtæ, a town near the Red Sea, where he had been banished by Artaxerxes Longimanus, travelled under the habit and disguise of one, to his own house at Susa or Shushan, where, by the interest of his wife and his mother, he was reconciled to the king.^b

The next disease we find mentioned is that which was inflicted on Job, and of which he so feelingly complains in several parts of his book. Commentators have differed as to its peculiar nature ; but the best informed have fixed upon *Elephantiasis*, as a disease well known in eastern countries, and corresponding with the hints which Job gives of it in his conversations with his friends. The following is an abridgment of what is said of it by Dr. Heberden^c and Michaelis.^d It begins with a sudden eruption of tubercles or tumours of different sizes, of a red colour, attended with great heat and itching on different parts of the body, and a degree of fever by which the skin acquires a remarkably shining appearance : but when the fever abates, the tubercles become either indolent knots, or in some degree scirrhus, and of a livid or copper colour ; and after some months they degenerate into fetid ulcers. As the disease advances, the features of the face swell, the hair of the eyebrows falls off, the voice becomes hoarse, the breath exceedingly offensive, the skin of the body is unusually loose, wrinkled, rough, destitute of hairs, and overspread with tumours, and often with ulcers, or else with a thick,

^a Matt. xxvi. 6.

^b Prideaux, Connect. A.A.C. 446.

^c Medical Transact. vol. i.

^d Recueil de Questions.

moist, scabby crust, upon those which have begun to dry up; and the legs are sometimes emaciated and ulcerated, sometimes affected with tumours, without ulceration, and sometimes swelled like posts, and indurated, having very thin scales, apparently much finer than those in leprosy, only not so white; whilst the soles of the feet, being thicker than the rest of the skin, feel peculiarly pained by the tumours and ulcers. Such is the state of those afflicted with elephantiasis; nor have they even intermissions of ease by refreshing rest; for as their days are rendered wretched by the distension of the skin by tumours, and a succession of burning, ill-conditioned ulcers, so their nights are tormented by perpetual restlessness or frightful dreams. The accuser of the brethren, therefore, evidently showed his sagacity and malice, when he selected this as the most likely mean to provoke Job to impatience. But having described the leading features of the disease, let us next attend to the hints that are given us in the Book of Job, and see whether the one corresponds with the other. In ch. ii. 7, 8, we are told, that "Satan smote Job with sore boils, from the sole of his foot even to his crown; and that he took a potsherd to scrape himself." This is evidently descriptive of elephantiasis, in its most active and rapid state, when the body is covered with tumours, which break into ulcers, and the skin becomes scaly. In ch. vi. 4, Job complains, that "the arrows of the Almighty were within him, and that the poison thereof drank up his spirit;" thereby comparing the pain he felt to that experienced from poisoned arrows; whilst the infection of the disease, like the influence of poison, spreads itself over the whole frame. It was formerly mentioned as an attendant on elephantiasis, that the patient could obtain no refreshing sleep, but was tormented with restlessness and frightful dreams. Accord-

ingly, Job in ch. vii. 3, 4. 13, 14, 15, complains in the following mournful manner: "I am made to possess months of vanity, and wearisome nights are appointed to me. When I lie down, I say, When shall I arise, and the night be gone? and I am full of tossings to and fro unto the dawning of the day.—When I say, My bed shall comfort me, my couch shall ease by complaint; then thou scarest me with dreams, and terrifiest me through visions: so that my soul chooseth strangling, and death rather than my life." The itchiness of ill-conditioned ulcers has often been ascribed to animalculæ, and their stench is intolerable. Accordingly, Job says in ch. vii. 5, "My flesh is clothed with worms and clods of dust: my skin is broken, and become loathsome." It was said that the tumours and ulcers were peculiarly painful on the soles of the feet, from the thickness of the skin in those parts; and to that he refers in ch. xiii. 27, where he says, "Thou settest a print upon the heels of my feet;" literally, "Thou imprintest thyself, that is, thy wrath on the soles of my feet." It was noticed that the skin in elephantiasis, when the disease hath become general, is loose, rough, and wrinkled; and Job, in ch. xvi. 8, complains of this very thing, that "his skin was filled with wrinkles." An offensive breath was noticed as another evil under which the patient laboured; and this was the case with Job, for he complains in ch. xvii. 1, that "his breath was corrupt; that his days were extinct; and that the grave was ready for him," as for a putrid carcass: adding in verse 14th, "I have said to corruption, Thou art my father; and to the worm, Thou art my mother, and my sister." The only other notice we have of the disease is in ch. xxx. 17. 30, where we hear him complaining that his bones were pierced with acute pain in the night season; and that his sinews, by their starting, gave him no

rest;—that his skin was black upon him; and his bones were burnt up with heat;—all which accord well with the disease in question, when it hath taken possession of the system, and hath filled the body with livid, copper-coloured, scirrhus tumours, or black corrupted ulcers. Upon the whole, then, it appears probable, that the disease with which Job was afflicted was elephantiasis.

In Levit. xxvi. 16, we read of a third disease, with which the people of Judea were visited, namely, consumption.—“I will even appoint over you consumption and the burning ague;” which consumption and burning ague may either be taken as symptoms of the same disease, or as two different diseases. It is natural to think, that from the very great difference of temperature in Judea in the night and in the day, the inhabitants would be apt to contract colds, and that these, when neglected, would fix upon the lungs, produce consumption, and often prove fatal. The burning ague, considered as a disease, is, strictly speaking, distinct from consumption; for although it has shivering, burning, and sweating fits, like consumption, yet these are at certain stated intervals; the disease has no peculiar determination to the lungs; and it is far less hopeless.—But, although our translators have rendered the word “burning ague,” it should be noticed, that Parkhurst renders it “a wasting consumption, or atrophy,” and thereby unites it with consumption, as one of its severer symptoms.

Fever is another disease that is mentioned in Scripture.—Thus, Peter’s wife’s mother lay sick of a fever when Christ healed her: * and the nobleman’s son at Capernaum was at the point of death by a fever, when

* Matt. viii. 14.

he intreated the aid of Jesus.^a In general, however, the fevers of hot climates are more violent, and come sooner to a crisis, than in temperate ones. Accordingly, Moses threatened the Israelites with this among other evils, if they should prove disobedient, Deut. xxviii. 22, "The Lord shall smite thee with a consumption and with a fever:" the original word signifies "a burning inflammatory fever," which does immense execution in a short time.—And it is probably to this, also, that he refers in the same 22d verse, when he adds, that they would be visited with "inflammation and extreme burning."

In Deut. xxviii. 27, 28, we have an additional catalogue of diseases: "the botch of Egypt, emerods, scab, itch which could not be cured, madness, and blindness." As for the botch of Egypt, the word signifies an inflammatory swelling, burning boil, or morbid tumour, attended with a sense of heat, which the people of Egypt have always been afflicted with. The following is Dr. Clarke's account of it: "At the period of the overflow (of the Nile,) persons who drink the water become subject to the disorder called prickly heat: this often terminates in those dreadful wounds alluded to in Scripture by the words boils and blains."^b Emerods are painful swellings, or tumours, either within or without the anus, occasioned by obstructions in the hemorrhoidal vessels. If mere swellings, they are called blind piles; and if accompanied with a discharge of blood, they are called bloody piles, or emerods. It was with this disease that God smote the inhabitants of Ashdod, in consequence of their having captured the ark:^c and it was this with which the father of Publius is thought by some to have been afflicted when Paul cured him;^d unless we

^a John iv. 47—52.

^b Travels, vol. iii. p. 38.

^c 1 Sam. v. 6—2.

^d Acts xxviii. 8.

rather prefer the putrid or contagious dysentery, which is a bloody flux, attended with fever. The scab, and incurable itch, of which Moses speaks in the above-mentioned passage, must evidently have been distressing to the persons afflicted with them; and showed a vitiated state of the humours at the surface of the body. Madness is next threatened by him, which is always a most dismal disease; and as for blindness, with which he concludes the catalogue, it is often the consequence of ophthalmia in Egypt and its neighbourhood.

Josephus, in his History of Herod, tells us, that after the death of Mariamne, he had "an inflammation upon him, and a pain in the hinder part of his head, joined with madness:" but we have little that is satisfactory as to the method of cure; for all that we are told is, that "the remedies that were used did him no good, but proved contrary to his case, and brought him to despair; that they therefore allowed him to eat whatever he had a mind to, and so left the small hopes they had of his recovery in the power of diet, and committed him to fortune."^a This, in general, was too often the result of the ancient practice.

Bowel complaints were another of those diseases to which the Jews were subject. The priests especially were afflicted with them, in consequence of their going bare-footed during divine service in the temple; and they had a physician of their own for this complaint. It was a disease of this kind with which God visited Jehoram, king of Judah, in consequence of his wickedness: he had great sickness by a disease in his bowels, till, at the end of two years, they fell out.^b

We find an instance of menorrhagia in Mark v. 25, 26, which lasted twelve years, in spite of all the skill of

^a Antiq. xv. 7.

^b 2 Chron. xxi. 15—19.

the physicians. Perhaps curiosity may wish to know what remedies the Jewish materia medica then furnished. The following are a few of them ; Take gum of Alexandria the weight of a zuz, alum one zuz, crocus hortensis one zuz, bruise them together, put them in wine, and give. If that be unsuccessful, take of Persian onions three logs, boil them in wine, and give to drink : and if that be unsuccessful, set her in a place where two ways meet, let her hold a cup of wine in her hand, and let some person come behind her and frighten her, and say, Arise from thy flux.—Should that do no good, take cummin one handful, crocus one handful, fœnum Græcum one handful, boil them in wine, and give her to drink : and should that have no effect, let them dig seven ditches, in which let them burn some cuttings of such vines as are not circumcised (that is, that are not yet four years old,) and let her take in her hand a cup of wine, and sit over the first ditch : let them lead her away from the first, and make her sit down over the second, and from that to the next, till they have taken her to all the seven ; and let them say at each removal, Arise from thy flux. Dr. Lightfoot says that there are at least ten other receipts for the same complaint in that part of the Talmud from which these are taken : so that it is nothing wonderful that she had suffered many things, as the evangelist says, of many physicians.*

The plague is spoken of in Scripture, but it is used in different senses. Thus when God punished the Israelites in the wilderness with any calamity on account of their disobedience, it was called a plague ;^b and when Solomon dedicated the temple, he prayed that God would hear the Israelites when labouring under whatever

* Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Mark v. 26.

^b Num. xi. 33.

plague or sickness.* But there is a particular disease known by that name in the neighbourhood of Judea, and of a most dangerous nature, for it is, properly speaking, owing to a specific contagion which suddenly produces inflammation and delirium, followed by the most considerable debility in the nervous system, and a general putrescency in the solids. Now they are in health; in three hours after, they are highly delirious; the inflammatory symptoms are then succeeded by the nervous and putrid; and death, in two or three days, closes the scene. Thucydides gives a minute and affecting account of the plague at Athens in time of the Peloponnesian war, Lib. ii. We are ignorant what methods the ancient physicians resorted to, but in no complaint have the moderns been more divided, the rapidity of the symptoms leaving little time for experiments in individual cases. Bleeding, emetics, cathartics, sudorifics, opiates, and tonics, have all been tried with comparatively little success, very few of those who were infected having ever recovered; but it may be proper to state, on the authority of one of the surgeons of the hospital of the British expedition into Egypt under General Sir Ralph Abercromby, in 1801, that after having tried many remedies in vain, about 300 were cured by the plentiful use of Port wine. The inflammatory symptoms were lessened as they could, but the whole bent of the surgeons was directed to the nervous and putrid ones; for when the patient began to sink under the disease, they poured in as much wine as he could take, and thereby supported his spirits, and corrected the tendency to putridity.

The next disease we shall mention, though certainly far less terrible, is that of Hezekiah in 2 Kings xx. 7,

* 1 Kings viii. 37.

and Is. xxxviii. 21, who was afflicted with a boil that threatened his life, and for the cure of which the prophet Isaiah applied a lump of figs as a poltice or plaster. Does not this seem to say, that the king's physicians had exerted all their skill in vain, and that a poltice of figs, in such a case, made no part of their medical treatment? The cure, however, was not an unnatural one, although supernaturally suggested, for modern practitioners agree that figs are employed with success in ripening imposthumes, healing ulcers and quincy; and it is presumable that Hezekiah had some such disease, though Scripture makes no particular mention of it. Prideaux, however,^a heightens the danger by making it the pestilence, and the boil he complained of to have been a pestilential boil, but on what authority I know not. We are ignorant how far the knowledge of this cure of so illustrious a person might extend, but the application of figs to boils and tumours was well known to the heathen physicians of latter times.^b This case, therefore, of Hezekiah, indicates three things: 1st, The very limited knowledge which the Jewish physicians had of diseases. 2d, That though God can cure by miracle, yet he also gives sagacity to discover and apply the most natural remedies; and 3d, That when the days of man are to be prolonged, means are used to accomplish it: for Hezekiah, who expected nothing but death, had, in consequence of this cure and the declaration of God, fifteen years added to his life.

The Psalmist^c mentions two diseases with which the

^a Connect, vol. i. p. 20.

^b Thus Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxiii. 7, tells us, "*Folia, et, quæ non maturuere, fici, strumis illinuntur, omnibusque quæ emolienda sunt discutiendæ;*" and Celsus, v. 2, observes, "*Ad discutienda ea, quæ in corporis parte aliqua coierunt, maxime possunt ficus arida.*"

^c Ps. cxxi. 6.

Jews and other eastern nations were sometimes visited, viz. the stroke of the sun, and lunacy. "The sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night." When we come to treat of the Jewish atmosphere and its phenomena,* some remarks will be made on the first of these; I shall here, therefore, only attend to the last. Experience tells us that the moon hath an effect on those of a nervous habit, and that persons labouring under mental derangement are more than ordinarily affected when the moon is either new or at the full. Might not this have been the case in a greater degree in Judea, where the general habit was more relaxed? And might there not, therefore, have been historical truth, as well as poetical allusion, in the words of the Psalmist? Indeed, we find lunatics several times mentioned in the New Testament.

Anointing with oil was another custom anciently in use in certain diseases. Thus Rabbi Simeon, the son of Eleazar, permitted Rabbi Meir to mingle wine and oil, and to anoint the sick on the sabbath; and he himself was once sick, and they sought to do so to him, but he permitted them not. In one of their traditions, anointing on the sabbath is permitted. Thus if the head ache, or if a scall come upon it, he anoints it with oil. And elsewhere it is said, "If he be sick, or have a scall upon his head, he anoints according to the manner."^b These traditions, then, show, that anointing with oil was accounted a remedy for cutaneous diseases, or for boils which might have occasioned sickness, and that its intention was to lubricate the part; but the practice was apt to be abused, for it was very common for the Jews to use charming and anointing together. Thus, in the Jerusalem Talmud, we are told that a man who charmeth, putteth oil upon his head and charmeth—that

* Part xii. sect. 3.

^b Lightf. Harm. of New Test. A.C. 63.

they charmed for an evil eye, serpents, scorpions, &c.—and that they even charmed over sick persons in the name of Jesus Pandira.^a The apostle James, therefore,^b corrects this abuse, and turns what is profitable in it to a good purpose; for he says, “Is any sick among you? Let him call (not for the charmers, but) for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up.” Not that the anointing with oil was more effectual in their hands than in those of others, as to the thing itself, for it was still but a medical application; but it withdrew the patients from applying to magicians; it gave an opportunity to the elders to administer religious instruction and consolation; and, if confined to the primitive church, it might have been one of those miraculous means appointed by God, to show the divinity of the doctrines which these elders taught. Their duty certainly was to visit the sick at all times, when invited so to do; and if, in any particular case, they felt a peculiar effatus, which convinced them that the person with whom they were was a proper subject for a miracle, they were then to yield to the suggestion, to use the appointed means, and to anoint him with oil in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. This last sense is perfectly conformable with the words of the apostle, and derives confirmation, first, from the prayer of faith saving the sick; secondly, from the Lord recovering, perhaps immediately, the person prayed for; and, thirdly, from its being added, that if he had committed sins, these should be forgiven him.

We are not informed of the name of that disease by which Herod the Great died, but the following symp-

^a Lightf. ut supra.

^b Ch. v. 14.

toms and method of cure may throw some additional light on the state of medicine among the Jews: "A fire glowed within him, which did not so much appear to the touch outwardly, as it augmented his pains inwardly; for it brought upon him a violent appetite for food; his bowels were ulcerated; an aqueous and transparent liquor settled itself about his feet; a like matter afflicted him at the bottom of his belly; and when he sat upright he had a difficulty in breathing, which was very loathsome on account of its stench; and he had convulsions in all parts of his body, which debilitated him in an unsufferable degree." Such is the account that is given of his case by Josephus,^a and the method of cure prescribed was, first to drink and bathe in the hot wells at Callirrhoe, beyond Jordan; and when these had not the desired effect, the physicians bathed him in a vessel full of oil, which had nearly cost him his life.^b

It deserves to be noticed, that Antiochus Epiphanes, and Herod Agrippa, who killed James with the sword, both died of worms;^c but their case is accounted a judgment of God, on account of their impiety and persecuting spirit.—We may add from Buxtorff, that, notwithstanding their numerous purifications, the Jews were afflicted with various diseases besides these already mentioned, viz. *mori*, *vari*, *ecthyma*, *sacer ignis*, *comitialis morbus*, *pestilentia*, &c.; that they had no great knowledge of physic, and that their treatment consisted either in magical charms, the most simple internal remedies, or external applications.^d It will be in the recollection of the classical scholar, that the physicians of Homer were rather surgeons than physicians; and Jo-

^a Antiq. xvii. 6.

^b In his Wars with the Jews, i. 33, Josephus recounts the symptoms somewhat differently, but the method of cure is the same.

^c 2 Maccab. ix. 5—10. Acts xii. 23.

^d Synag. Judaic. cap. 45.

sephus, in his account of his own life, tells us of one Joseph, the son of a female physician, which is alone sufficient to convince us that the medical art had made no great progress in Judea in his days.

There is still another circumstance connected with the present subject, which, although an anomaly, ought not to be overlooked; I mean the remarkable cases of demoniacal possession which are mentioned in Scripture. These have, indeed, been denied by some authors, and attempts have been made to account for them, either as the effects of natural disease, or the influence of imagination on persons of a nervous habit. But the following observations of Dr. Campbell, in his dissertations on the gospels, abundantly refute it: "If there had been no more to urge," says he, "from sacred writ in favour of the common opinion, than the name *δαμονιζομενος*, or even the phrases *δαμονιον εχειν*, *εκβαλλειν*, &c. I should have thought their explanation at least not improbable; but when I find mention made of the number of demons in particular possessions; their actions so expressly distinguished from those of the man possessed; conversations held by the former in regard to the disposal of them after their expulsion; and accounts given how they were actually disposed of;—when I find desires and passion peculiarly ascribed to them, and similitudes taken from the conduct which they usually observe, it is impossible for me to deny their existence without admitting that the sacred historians were either deceived themselves with regard to them, or intended to deceive their readers; nay, if they were faithful historians, this reflection, I am afraid, will strike still deeper." Such are the words of this excellent writer.—But another question still occurs, viz. how it happened that these

* Prelim. Dissert. vi. part i. sect. 10.

possessions were so frequent in the days of our Saviour, and so little heard of afterwards? the following is offered as a solution. When the devil deceived our first parents, and thereby ruined their posterity, he was contented to rule in their minds, and by various arts addressed to their corrupt passions and inclinations effected their destruction; but four thousand year's experience in the arts of seduction made him more bold. Having extended his dominion over the greater part of the Jewish and Gentile world, he thought he might advance a step farther than he had hitherto done, and, accordingly, instead of contenting himself with influencing the minds, he began to take possession of the bodies of men. Such was the state of things when Christ appeared. He came to destroy the works of the devil. The strong man had long kept the house, but a stronger than he came to cast him out. He appeared, therefore, infinitely superior to the devil and his angels: they were in the utmost dread of his power; they instantly obeyed his mandate, and would have given their testimony to his exalted character, if he would have permitted them. Here, then, do we see the reason why Christ delayed so long his coming. It was to give full time for the devil to establish his power, and when that power was at its height he destroyed it. Philosophers had in vain attempted the task; they wielded the sword and the shield of philosophy against his temptations, and fondly hoped, by means of these, to rescue men from his power, but they were disappointed. Age after age they lamented their inefficacy, and longed for a person divinely commissioned to dispel the clouds of ignorance, break the bands of sinful desire, and introduce a new era of knowledge and happiness among men. Their wish has been granted; Jesus has appeared, and life and immortality are brought to light by his gospel.

We cannot close this short account of the state of medicine in Judea, without adverting to the vast advantage which that science has acquired by the introduction of christianity, which dispelled the ignorance and prejudice that had so long shackled the human mind; taught men the value of health and life to beings acting for eternity; and led to operations on the living subject, and dissections of the dead. To the same benevolent source may we refer all those charitable institutions which constitute the glory of modern times, and the numerous hospitals which are every where opened for the reception of the distressed and unfortunate. They were unknown to the polished nations of antiquity, and are still strangers to those lands where the light of the gospel hath never shone. Their incalculable utility is confined to christendom, being the fruit of that humanity which the gospel recommends.

SECT. XIV.

Treatment of the Dying and dead.

The hours for visiting the sick; conduct of visitors. Dying persons addressed their children and relations; made their latter will. A strange custom of changing the name of the dying person. After death the nearest relation kissed the deceased, and closed his eyes; the other relations tore their upper garment; spectators tore theirs only a hand-breadth; women hired to cry; minstrels; Sir John Chardin's account of their lamentations. The dead body washed; wrapt in spices; bound in grave-cloths; laid in an upper chamber. The Egyptian method of embalming. The persons employed about a dead body accounted unclean. Funerals, either public or private; insignia suited to the person's character laid on the coffin; hired mourners; Dr. Shaw's account of them; minstrels at the funeral; ceremonies at the grave; the sittings and standings in their return to the house; seven of these; mourning for the dead either extraordinary by lamentations, tearing the hair, cutting their bodies, &c. or ordinary, by tears, tearing the upper garment, covering their lip. Entertainment after the funeral. The ordinary mourning before the funeral; for the first three days after; for the next four; for the remaining twenty-three. Funerals of children; cemeteries always without cities; potter's field; public burying places; regulations concerning them.

Private burying-places; Rachel's sepulchre; Joseph's soros, or mound; Isaiah's and David's tombs; Absalom's pillar; Esther's and Daniel's tombs; tombs of Jonah, Zecharias, and Lazarus. Sepulchres of families commonly in caves; these described; tomb of Lazarus; tombs of the Judges; sepulchral monument over the Maccabzean family; sepulchres of the kings of Syria and Israel; money said to have been in David's sepulchre examined; all the sepulchres white-washed on the 15th of the 12th month; garnishing sepulchres accounted meritorious. The written mountains in the wilderness of Sinai. Two Hebrew epitaphs; the bodies of criminals left without burial.

1. *Treatment while Dying.*—Visiting the sick was enjoined to be neither in the three morning, nor in the three evening hours, from motives of delicacy and convenience for the distressed, and when they went, they commonly said, "God pity you, and all the sick among the Israelites." If the person was dangerously ill, either the friends or some Rabbi discoursed with him on subjects suited to his situation; and if near death, they had a formula for the confession of sin, which is given by Buxtorff:^a for they considered a natural death as the expiation of all his sins; a doctrine which, although it might soothe the patient with a false hope, was yet of dangerous tendency to his eternal interests. At the approach of death, the person dying assembled his children around his bed and blessed them, well knowing that the heart was then susceptible, and that the instructions of a dying parent might be remembered when his body was mouldering in the grave. The patient then, also, if not formerly, made his will, bequeathing his property equitably among his children, and if he was rich, he gave legacies to the poor, for the endowment of schools, and for the erecting of synagogues. They had a strange custom of changing the name of the person before he died, the reason which will be seen in the following prayer: "O God, take pity on *N*, and restore him to his former health; let him be called henceforth

^a Synag. Jud. cap. 49.

O; let him be glad in his new name, and let it be confirmed to him. Be pleased, we intreat thee, O God, that this change of name may abolish all the hard and evil decrees against him, and destroy the broad sentence. If death be decreed upon *N* (his former name,) it is not decreed upon *O* (his present one.) If an evil decree was made against *N*, lo, this hour, he is another man, a new creature, and, like a child, born to a good life and length of days." In the prospect of death, the patient was never left alone, that he might receive advice and every attendance;^a and when about to expire, the nearest relation, or dearest friend, closed his eyes and kissed him. Hence Philo, when relating Jacob's complaints on the unexpected death of Joseph, makes him say, that "He will not have the comfort of closing his eyes, and giving him the last embrace." Indeed this was a custom among the heathens, as is evident from the quotations given below :^b

2. *Treatment between the death and funeral.*—When the person had breathed his last, the nearest relations tore their upper garment from head to foot, but the spectators tore only about a hand-breadth in length on the left side,^c which was also a heathen practice.^d Immediately upon the decease, dismal cries were raised by the people in the house and their neighbours, who

^a Buxtorff, Synag. Jud. cap. 49.

^b ——— Extremus si quis super halitus errat,

Ore legam.

Virgil. *Æn.* iv. 684.

Sospite te saltem moriar, Nero, tu mea conde

Lumina, et excipias hanc animam ore pio.

Livia apud Albinovanum.

Hærentemque animam non tristis in ora mariti

Transtulit.

Statius.

^c Buxtorff, Synag. Jud. cap. 49.

^d ——— It scissâ veste Latinus,

Conjugis attonitus fati.

Virgil. *Æn.* xii. 609, 610.

thronged in on hearing of the event;^a and at the death of persons in better condition, women were hired to howl, and sing doleful ditties, in which honourable mention was made of the age, beauty, strength, courage, virtues, and actions of the deceased,^b with the intention of increasing the sorrow of the afflicted relations;^c and minstrels^d were employed to accompany them with instruments of music.^e But what kind of lamentations these were, will be best understood by the following extract from Sir John Chardin's manuscript observations, as quoted by Harmer: "I was lodged, in the year 1676, at Ispahan, in Persia, near the royal square. The mistress of the house next mine, died at that time in the night. The moment she expired, all the family, to the number of 25 or 30 people, set up such a furious cry, that I was quite startled. These cries continued a long time, and then ceased all at once. They began again at daybreak, as suddenly, and in concert. It is this suddenness which is so terrifying, together with a greater shrillness and loudness than one can easily imagine." In Barbary they term this screaming *woulliah woo*, because it consists in the repetition of that word.—But let us attend to their care of the corpe. The first thing done was to extend the body on a cloth, on the floor or table, with the face covered, and to wash it^f with a warm infusion of camomile flowers and dried roses.^g This was done for two reasons; to restore life if suspended, and to make the perfumes enter the pores more easily.^h Women were the persons formerly employed in this office, and hence the two Marys went to the sepul-

^a Mark calls it *Σεπυχορ*, a tumult, ch. v. 38.

^b Acts ix. 39.

^c Jer. ix. 17, 18.

^d Matt. ix. 23. Joseph. Bello Jud. Lib. iii.

^e Macknight's Harm. § 35.

^f Acts ix. 37.

^g Buxtorff, Synag. Jud. cap. 49.

^h *Corpusque lavant frigentis et unguunt.*

Virgil. *Æn.* vi. 219.

chre of our Lord,^a but afterwards it was thought more decorous to employ persons of the same sex. When the washing was completed it was laid on a table, all the vents shut up, and the body embalmed. This embalming was different according to the rank or vanity of the deceased. The most common way was to anoint the body with a solution of some odoriferous drugs, and wrap it in linen; but to persons of affluence, spices in great abundance were used. Thus Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, because they were wealthy, and wished to do honour to Jesus, wrapped his body in a linen cloth, with a hundred pounds weight of myrrh and lign aloes, which was said to be the manner of the Jews to bury;^b not that they all employed so many spices, but thereby implying that they merely wrapped the body in spices, and did not embowel it. The two Marys, not knowing what was done by these worthy men, and never suspecting a resurrection, had also prepared spices and ointments.^c After the washing with water and embalming, the body was bound up in grave-clothes, and laid in an upper chamber.^d The shrouds were either simple or magnificent^e according to circumstances, and sometimes they retained their ordinary clothes, or were buried in a shroud of their own preparing.^f But although embalming, by being wrapt in spices, was the usual way of the Jews to bury, it was not the only one, for they also embowelled, in the manner of the Egyptians, and the common way of doing it was this: "The body was given to the embalmers, who first took out the brains and entrails, and washed them in palm wine, impregnated with strong astringent drugs; after which

^a Mark xvi. 1. ^b John xix. 39, 40. ^c Luke xxiii. 56. ^d Acts ix. 37.

^e Like Penelope's web, which was intended as a shroud for Laertes, *Odyss.* ii. 99.

^f Basnage's *Hist. and Relig. of the Jews*, book v. ch. 23.

they began to anoint the body with oil of cedar, myrrh, cinnamon, and cassia; and this lasted thirty days. They next put it into a solution of nitre for forty days longer, so that they allowed seventy days to complete the embalming; after which they wound it up in swathes of linen, besmeared with gum. Being then able to resist putrefaction, it was delivered to the relations, inclosed in a paper or wooden figure, somewhat resembling a coffin, and laid in the catacomb or cave belonging to the family.^a Thevenot says that “the mummy he examined had above a thousand ells of filleting about the body, besides what was wrapped about the head.”^b The ancient Jewish method seems to resemble the modern eastern practice, however, rather than the ancient Egyptian, which, according to Dr. Perry,^c consists in wrapping up the body in two, three, or more different sorts of stuffs, according to the circumstances of the deceased, with spices intermixed:

The quantity Nicodemus brought for our Lord was larger than needful; but the larger the quantity the greater the honour:^d and Asa’s bed of spices was profuse for the same reason,^e whilst burning odours for kings is expressly mentioned by Jeremiah.^f—Josephus informs us of the method by which they preserved bodies from putrefaction till they could be buried in the family vaults to which they belonged; for he tells us, that “Aristobulus was taken off by poison that had been given him by one of Pompey’s party, and for a long time had not so much as a funeral vouchsafed him in his own country, but his dead body lay above ground preserved in honey, until it was sent to the Jews by Antony, in order to be buried in the royal sepulchres.”^g

^a Herodot. Lib. ii. cap. 86, 87, 88. ^b Part i. p. 137. ^c Page 247.

^d Joseph. Antiq. Lib. xv.

^e 2 Chron. xvi. 14.

^f Jer. xxxiv. 5.

^g War, i. 9.

Those who were engaged in preparing the body for burial were considered ceremonially unclean for seven days; the first three more so than the remaining four, and on the last of the first three days they were sprinkled with water, in which were some of the ashes of the red heifer.^a According to Sir John Chardin, however, the Persians carry matters farther than the death of their kings, for they displace (*mazoul*) the physicians and astrologers; the first for not having driven away death, and the second for not having predicted it; and he very ingeniously conjectures that Daniel had been displaced, or *mazoul*ied, on the death of Nebuchadnezzar, which was the reason why he was unknown to Belshazzar the son, but well known to the queen his mother, who had seen him frequently, and knew his worth in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, her husband.^b—From the time that the corpse was shrouded, and taken to an upper chamber, it lay upon a bed till the time of burial, and was either in greater or less state according to circumstances. If poor, it lay upon a plain bed, in an open coffin or bier; but if rich, on a magnificent bed, and in a magnificent coffin, open to the inspection of all who chose to visit it.

3. *Order of the funeral*.—When the time of the burial came, which was commonly within twenty-four hours after death, the relations and friends were the attendants; but if a public or highly beloved character, the

^a Num. xix. 9—13. The Romans had the same idea as to the defilement of a dead body: for after the funeral of Misenus, a person went round to purify the attendants.

Idem ter socios purâ circumtulit undâ,
Spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivæ:
Lustravitque viros, dixitque novissima verba.

Virgil. *Æn.* vi. 229—231.

^b Daniel v. 10—12.

company was very numerous. The widow of Nain had much people of the city at the funeral of her son.^a

At the burial of a Rabbi there were commonly some books laid upon the coffin, and it was reckoned honourable for a warrior to be buried in armour;^b but a person dying under the sentence of excommunication, had a stone upon the bier, or a stone thrown into the grave, to show that he was worthy of death, because he applied not to have it removed.—Besides the company of relations and friends, there were two official classes of persons, viz. the supporters of the body and the hired mourners. The pall, however, was commonly held by the near relations; at least, they kept their stations near the corpse, and, as a mark of respect, the body was sometimes carried by the company in succession.^c

The hired mourners or minstrels were of two kinds; women who uttered doleful sounds, and those who played on instruments of music. The women hired to mourn had dishevelled hair, open bosoms, and a particular tone of voice remarkably suited to draw tears. We shall best understand, however, the ancient practice by attending to the following extract from Dr. Shaw; when describing the Moorish funerals: "There are several women," says he, "hired to act on these lugubrious occasions, who, like the *Præficæ*, or mourning women of old, are skilful in lamentation,^d and great mistresses of these melancholy expressions (that is, as he had before remarked, of calling out for several times together, *loo, loo, loo*, in a deep and hollow tone, with several ventriloquous sighs;) and, indeed, they perform their parts with such proper sounds, gestures, and commotions, that they rarely fail to work up the assembly into some extraordinary pitch of thoughtfulness and sor-

^a Luke vii. 12.

^b Ezek. xxxii. 27.

^c Basnage, book v. ch. 22.

^d Amos v. 16.

row.”^a But besides these hired voices, they had also hired instruments. Josephus^b tells us, that many hired pipers also (*αυλητας*, the very word used in Matt. ix. 23, and translated minstrels,) led the way in these wailings. Even the poorest Israelite, when his wife died, had two pipers and one woman to make lamentation. The rich had more, according to their dignity.^c We have an instance both of singing men and singing women lamenting for Josiah, the king of Judah, in 2 Chron. xxxv. 25; and the following extract from Josephus’ account of his own life, will show that the allusion of our Saviour to the amusements of children in mock funeral processions, was founded in truth. “The people of Tiberias,” says he, “at the sight of me came running out of the city perpetually, and abused me greatly; nay, their madness went to that height, that they made a bier for me, and standing around it, they mourned over me in the way of sport, and I could not but be myself in a pleasant humour at the sight of their madness.”—When come to the sepulchre, they said, “Blessed be God, who formed thee, fed thee, preserved thee, and has taken away thy life. O dead! He knows the number of thy members, and shall one day restore thy life. Blessed be he who takes away life and restores it.” They then placed the coffin on the ground, walked round it seven times, repeated a prayer, and sometimes an oration, recounting his virtues: the relations threw a handful of earth upon the bier, and in places where burial was used after the present manner of inhumation, they filled up the grave, consigning the dust of their relation to the dust of death. Coffins were not in general use in Judea, nor are they general even at present in the East. They were very ancient, indeed, in Egypt

^a Travels, p. 242.

^b De Bello, Lib. iii.

^c Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. Matt. viii. 23.

among the great, and were made of sycamore wood, or of a kind of pasteboard, formed by folding and gluing cloth together a number of times, which were curiously plastered, and then painted with hieroglyphics.^a But in Judea they seem to have been contented with wrapping the body closely in spices, and carrying it to the grave, like the widow of Nain's son, in a *σπορος*, or bier, from whence it was taken to be laid in the sepulchre; or, if poor, it was tumbled into the grave, and the bier brought back for further use. Hence a coffin to Joseph was looked upon as an honour.^b—Before leaving the churchyard, the modern Jews each pluck up three handfuls of grass, and throwing it behind them say, "They shall flourish like the grass of the earth."^c They also, in some places, throw dust on their heads, and say, "We shall follow thee as the order of nature shall require."^d At a burial none saluted each other, and when they retired, then began the standings and sittings, as they are called, by which the company comforted the relations. The number of persons which composed the minimum in this duty was ten; but it might be as many more as pleased. The common number consisted of all the company, and the custom was, at each sitting and standing, for the relations to sit, and the company to stand round them and weep aloud. Between the grave and the house were seven of these sittings and standings, and they might not be nearer each other than what could contain four eabs of seed, which was fixed to be thirty-three cubits and two hand-breadths broad, by fifty cubits long, or, as others explain it, the distance between them was regulated by circumstances, but the

^a Thevenot, part i. p. 58, 137.

^b Gen. i. 26. We have a splendid account of Herod the Great's funeral in Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 8. *War*, i. 33.

^c Ps. lxxii. 16. ^d Basnage, book v. ch. 23. Buxtorff, *Synag. Jud.* cap. 49

space allowed them to stand in was of that extent, that they might not be interrupted by the persons who passed.^a

The entertainment of the company invited to the funeral did not precede, but follow the solemnity. Among the heathen it was over or around the grave,^b but the Jews had it at home. This entertainment was commonly liberal: they drank two cups of wine before it, five while eating, and three after; at least, they had the offer of so many.^c But as this implied greater abundance than was in the power of many to give, the want was supplied by the liberality of their neighbours, both as a mark of sympathy, and in the expectation that they would return the compliment when themselves should be visited with a similar affliction.^d Josephus observes,^e that "Archelaus, after he had lamented Herod the Great seven days, gave a magnificent entertainment to the people, (independent of that usually given after common funerals,) and that a similar custom ruined many Jews, who were not able to bear the expense of these feasts, and yet they would have been accounted atheists if they had not."

4. *Mourning for the Dead.*—Mourning for the dead was either extraordinary or ordinary. Extraordinary mourning was occasioned either by the extraordinary rank or virtue of the individual, or the extraordinary conduct of the relations; in which last case they expressed their grief by loud lamentations, frantic looks and gestures, beating the breast,^f tearing the hair, or cutting themselves with instruments. Job, on hearing of the death of all his sons, shaved his head and sat on

^a Lightf. Chorog. Decad on Mark, ch. ix. sect. 7, and Heb. and Talm. Exer. on John xi. 19. 25. ^b Eccclus. xxx. 18. Tobit iv. 17. Jer. xvi. 7.

^c Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. Luke vii. 12.

^d Jer. xvi. 7, 8. Ezek. xxiv. 17. 22. ^e Wars of the Jews, ii. 1. ^f Nahum ii. 7.

ashes.^a—Nor was it uncommon, in such afflictive cases, for the near relations to clothe themselves in sackcloth, and put ashes on their heads:^b whilst some of them cut off their hair,^c in the later periods of the Jewish economy, and laid it on the dead body of their relation, or on the grave, in imitation of the heathen, by whom these were thought acceptable to the dii inferi.^d—In ordinary cases, however, the expressions of grief were more moderate: they consisted commonly of tears and lamentations,^e tearing a part of the upper garment, going barefooted, and without any tire on their heads, and the principal mourner having his lower lip covered with a linen cloth,^f as they were wont to do to the dead, and as the chief mourners among the Jews in Barbary do at this day. The leper, it will be recollected, was enjoined this dress, as being, in some measure, a dead person.^g

The ordinary mourning for the dead was divided into two periods: the first between the time of the death and burial, which was called *אֲנִיּוּת*, *Aninuth*, or the mourning, by way of eminence; and the second for thirty days after the funeral, and called *אֲבִלוּת*, *Abluth*.^h Moses and Aaron were mourned thirty days;ⁱ and this became the ordinary time. The thirty days after the funeral were divided into three portions: the first three days, the first seven days, and the last twenty-three days.—The first three days were called “the days of weeping,” and were marked by peculiar signs of grief: for then the beds of the house where the person died were taken down, or dismantled, as soon as the corpse was carried

^a Job i. 20. ii. 8.

^b Is. lxi. 3. Judith x. 3. Jer. vi. 26.

^c Is. xv. 2. Jer. xvi. 6. xlviii. 37. Ezek. vii. 18.

^d Homer, *Iliad* xxiii. 135. Potter's *Antiq.* book iv. ch. 5.

^e Jer. xxii. 18. 1 Maccab. ix. 20, 21. ^f Ezek. xxiv. 17.

^g Levit. xiii. 45.

^h Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Matt. viii. 23.

ⁱ Numb. xx. 29. Deut. xxxiv. 8.

out of doors.^a The relations did not prepare their own food on the evening after the funeral as if unconcerned about life:^b and when returned to the house, none spake till the principal mourner broke silence: hence the silence of Job's friends.^c They visited the grave every day, during these three days, and were more rigid as to the things they were bound by their traditions to observe: for, on the first of them, it was not lawful to wear their phylacteries, to eat holy things, or, indeed, any thing, unless their health absolutely required it. During all the three, they might do no servile work; and if any saluted them, they might not return it.—But the height of their mourning was on the third day, when all hope of revival was lost, by the evident marks of putrefaction.—They had, indeed, the notion, like the Greeks and Egyptians, that man was composed of three parts, viz. an intelligent mind, called *φρον*, or *ψυχη*; a vehicle for that mind, called *ειδωλον*, the image or soul; and the gross body, *σωμα*. Homer alludes to this distinction when mentioning the appearance of Patroclus's shade to Achilles in a dream;^d and St. Paul expressly asserts it in 1 Thess. v. 23.—According to their philosophy, therefore, the soul fluttered round the body till the third day, from its great reluctance to part with its old companion, but after that it departed. The third day, therefore, deprived the relations of all hope.^e The next four days were called “the days of lamentation.” In the case of Lazarus, the three days of weeping were ended, and the first of the four days of lamentation begun.—And it is worthy of remark, that there is a beautiful gradation in the resurrections of the dead performed by our Lord. The first person whom he raised, viz. Jairus's

^a Basnage, book v. ch. 23.

^b Buxtorff, Synag. Jud. cap. 49.

^c Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. on John xi. 19–25.

^d Iliad xxiii. 50.

^e Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. on John xi. 19–25. Harm. N.T. sect. 71.

daughter, had been in the state of the dead only a few hours.—The second, namely, the widow of Nain's son, was raised as his friends were carrying him out to burial.—But when Jesus recalled Lazarus to life, he had been in the grave no less than four days; and therefore, according to our way of apprehending things, his resurrection was the greatest miracle of the three. The whole power of death was accomplished in him, and the whole power of the resurrection showed forth in him.^a During the first seven days after the funeral, the beds continued dismantled, because the family sat on the ground; they neither washed nor anointed, nor walked with sandals, nor with their heads covered; nor read the law, nor Mishneh, nor Talmud;^b they ate no flesh, drank no wine, except on sabbath, and refrained from worldly business.^c At the end of seven days they went to the synagogue, to testify their public submission to the disposals of Providence, and intreat of the Almighty to sanctify their trials. But I may observe that this custom of lamenting the dead seven days was not peculiar to the Jews; for Ovid, in speaking of Orpheus lamenting his wife, says,

Septem tamen ille diebus
Squalidus in ripa Cereris sine munere sedit.
Cura dolorque animi, lachrymæque alimenta fuere.

So much then for their mourning during the first week.—Let me add, that in all the thirty days to which their customs extended ordinary grief, they were forbidden to wash, or to wash so clean as ordinary; to shave; to indulge in the luxury of the bath; to anoint; to wear any clothing expressive of joy; or sew the rent which had been made for the dead. I ought to remark,

^a Macknight's Harm. of the Evang. sect. 99.

^b Lightf. Heb. and Palm. Exer. on John xi. 19. 25. ^c Barnage, b. v. ch. 23.

however, that there were some persons whose death was not mourned: viz. those who died under the sentence of excommunication, those guilty of suicide, apostates, atheists, epicureans, and libertines.*

Hitherto we have treated of the funerals of adults; let us next attend to the manner in which they buried children. A child below thirty days old was carried to the grave under the arm of a woman, with two men attending, either to witness or perform the last duties. A child of thirty days, and below three years, was carried in a little coffin, in men's arms. But all above three years, were carried in a bed or bier on men's shoulders, with many people, who each, in their turn, if occasion required, supported the bier.^b

Jewish Sepulchres and Inscriptions.

Cemeteries among the Jews were always without their cities. From Levitical cities they were positively distant 2000 cubits, and from all others a considerable space:° Buxtorff says that they were fifty cubits at least.^d Jerusalem was the only city within whose walls any individuals were ever buried; and even these were limited to the family of David, and the bodies of Jehoiada the high priest,^e and of Huldah the prophetess. —Burying-places were either public or private. Every city had a public cemetery for those inhabitants who had no sepulchres of their own: and we read of the Jews purchasing a field without Jerusalem for the burial of strangers;^f meaning, probably, the bodies of the proselytes of the gate, and of the Roman soldiers who happened to die there. But the common public burying-

* Buxtorff, Synag. Jud. cap. 49.

^b Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Luke vii. 12.

^c Lightf. Chorograph. Decad. on Mark, ch. ix. sect. 7.

^d Synag. Jud. cap. 49. ^e 2 Chron. xxiv. 16. ^f Matt. xxvii. 6—8.

places very probably resembled that which is given by Dr. Shaw :^a " Burying-grounds," says he, " occupy a large space, a great extent of ground being allotted without their cities for the burial of their dead. Each family has a proper portion of it, walled in like a garden, where the bones of their ancestors have remained undisturbed for many generations. In these inclosures the graves are all distinct and separate, whilst the intermediate space is either planted with flowers, bordered round with stone, or paved with tiles." And Mr. Blount tells us,^b that " those who bestow a marble stone over any, have a hole, a yard long and a foot broad, in which they plant an evergreen, which seems to grow from the body, and is carefully watered."^c—There were certain regulations concerning these public burial-grounds which were very proper. Thus, they were without cities, to prevent infection ; no stream of water was allowed to pass through them, for fear of injuring the graves ; no public road was permitted, to increase their veneration for the dead ; no cattle were allowed to graze in them ; and every person on entering them laid aside his phylacteries. As for the regulation about not entering them with the law hanging on the arm, that perhaps was meant to prevent that holy book from the danger of pollution.^d

We have already seen, that even in the public burying-grounds, the private property of individuals was ascertained and beautified according to the fancy of the relations ; but we ought next to attend to those separate and solitary sepulchres which were built either for individuals or for families.—Those for individuals were either erected by themselves, or built for them by others :

^a Travels, p. 219. ^b P. 197. ^c See also Hasselquist's Travels, p. 28.

^d Lightf. Chorograph. Cent. of Israel, ch. 100.

they were of different forms and of different materials, according to circumstances. Thus, Rachel's sepulchre is described by Sandys^a as being on the road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, but near to Bethlehem. "It resembles a great trunk or chest, covered with a cupola, mounted on a square, which hath, on each side, an ample arch, supported only by the corners: the whole is environed by a square wall." This is evidently a structure comparatively modern, but indicative of the place where they believe the remains of Rachel to have been deposited. Chateaubriand^b gives a similar account. Dr. Clarke^c gives strong reasons for believing, that the open pyramid, which has so often been described as the sepulchre of one of the kings of Egypt, is none other than the *soros* where Joseph was buried, while the Israelites were in that country, and which they opened at their departure, to take from thence his bones, which he had made them swear to carry with them to the land of Canaan. It is some confirmation of his opinion, that the Septuagint speaks of Joseph's coffin or grave as being a *soros*, or mound.—The above pyramid was the only open one, till March, 1818, when Mr. Belzoni, a Roman architect, effected that which many celebrated travellers had attempted in vain for centuries past; and, as the discovery is an important one, since many have supposed that these enormous masses were built by the Israelites while in Egypt, it may not be ungratifying to insert an account of it: "On the 18th Feb. last, Mr. Belzoni, at his own expense, began his project of opening a way into the second pyramid of Gizeh, called that of Chefrem. In the first place, he caused an excavation to be made towards the northern front, by following a perpendicular line from its centre. Having discovered

^a Travels, p. 137. ^b Travels, vol. i. p. 376. ^c Travels, vol. iii. p. 182—197.

that there was no opening in this place, he commenced farther researches about thirty feet east of the middle; and, on the 2d March, he found the real entrance, which is a gallery of granite, that led to a hanging door, also of granite. Having caused it to be raised, he found himself in a horizontal gallery, from whence he descended perpendicularly into a second, and thence by a staircase into a third, which conducted him into an apartment, where he found a sarcophagus containing human bones embalmed. Proceeding by a shelving gallery, he arrived in another horizontal one, passing along which, he perceived, when about half way, a passage that led towards the south into a second apartment. At the extremity of this horizontal plane, Mr. Belzoni saw a niche cut for the purpose of fixing a granite door, that lay near. From this place he ascended by a short passage, about the height of forty-seven feet, to a stone wall by which it was closed. At this spot he perceived stones cut and laid in such a manner as to close the entrance of this passage, near the base of the pyramid."^a From this account it seems proved, that those pyramids were really the sepulchres of some of the early Egyptian kings; and the presumption of Dr. Clarke is not thereby lessened, that the other open one was the sepulchre of Joseph; for, from his high office and distinguished services, he might have been buried with all the honours of royalty. But let us proceed to some of the other sepulchres of illustrious individuals.

The following is Captain Light's account of that which is pointed out as belonging to David the king of Israel. "I went," says he, "to the castle built on Mount Sion, near which is the mosque of David, whose tomb is supposed to be there, the veneration for which

^a Dumfries and Galloway Courier, for 1 Sept. 1818.

is equal to that for the mosque of Solomon (on the ancient site of the Holy of Holies;) and no Christian is allowed to visit either."^a Chateaubriand is more particular; for he says, "it is a small vaulted room, containing three sepulchres of dark coloured stone."^b

We noticed Absalom's pillar in Part ii. Sect. 1, but may add the following description of it by Chateaubriand, as more minute: "Having passed the bridge over the brook Cedron, you come to the sepulchre of Absalom, at the foot of the Mount of Offence. It is a square mass, measuring eight feet each way, composed of a single rock, hewn from the neighbouring hill, from which it stands only fifteen feet detached. The ornaments of this sepulchre consist of twenty-four semicolumns of the Doric order, not fluted, six on each front of the monument. These columns form an integral part of the block, having been cut out of the same mass with it. On the capital is the frieze, with the triglyph, and above the frieze rises a socle, which supports a triangular pyramid, too lofty for the total height of the tomb.—The pyramid is not of the same piece as the rest of the monument."^c

The following is Mr. Bell of Antermoney's account of the tomb of Esther: "I was told," says he, "at Ispahan, that about two days, journey from Ispahan are distinguishable the remains of the tomb of Queen Esther, a lady celebrated in holy writ for many virtues. This, and many other places, I intended to have examined on the spot, but was unluckily prevented for want of time."^d What he could not accomplish has, however, been performed by others: for Sir John Malcolm^e tells us, that the sepulchre of Esther and Mordecai stands near the

^a Travels, p. 157.

^b Travels, vol. ii. p. 31.

^c Travels, vol. ii. p. 100.

^d Travels, Aug. 26, 1717.

^e History of Persia, vol. ii. ch. 7.

centre of the city of Hamadan; and in vol. ii. p. 524, he gives us a drawing of it. It is a square building terminated by a dome, with an inscription in Hebrew upon it, translated and sent to him by Sir Gore Ouseley, late ambassador to the court of Persia: it is as follows: "Thursday, fifteenth of the month Adar, in the year 4474, from the creation of the world, was finished the building of this temple, over the graves of Mordecai and Esther, by the hands of the good hearted brothers, Elias and Samuel, the sons of the deceased Ishmael of Kashan." From this date, which is in numerical letters, and accords with the Jewish chronology, this dome must have been built eleven hundred years ago. Sir John adds, that "the tombs, which are of a black coloured wood, are evidently of very great antiquity, but the wood has not perished. The other Hebrew inscriptions with which it is covered are still very legible.—Two of them are taken from Esther ii. 5. x. 3. The Jews of Hamadan have no tradition of the causes of Esther and her uncle being interred at that place. They probably were removed from Susa (or Shushan,) after the death of Artaxerxes (Ahasuerus.) The Jewish festival of Purim is still kept up; and at this festival Jewish pilgrims resort to the tombs of Mordecai and Esther from every quarter, and have done so for centuries." Thus far Sir John Malcolm. "The name of Isaiah," says Captain Light, in his *Travels in the Holy Land*, 1814, "is attached to a monument (near the head of the valley of Siloe, at Jerusalem,) of nearly the same dimensions and architecture (as will be afterwards given of the tomb of Zechariah,) except that the roof is a cupola, surmounted by a cube."^a Daniel's tomb is thus described by Sir John Malcolm:^b "At the foot of one of these

^a Page 172.^b *Hist. Persia*, ch. 7.

mounds stands the tomb of the prophet Daniel. It is a small building, but sufficient to shelter some dervishes, who watch the remains of the prophet, and are supported by the alms of pious pilgrims, who visit the holy sepulchre. These dervishes are the only inhabitants of Susa: and every species of wild beasts roam at large over that spot, on which some of the proudest palaces ever raised by human art once stood.—Though the building," he adds, "at the tomb of Daniel be comparatively modern, nothing could have led to its being built where it is, but a belief that that was the real site of the prophet's sepulchre." We have the same tomb thus described by Mr. Macdonald Kinneir^a when he accompanied General Sir John Malcolm to Persia, in 1810: "At the present Shus, in Kuzistan, anciently Shushan, and at the foot of the most elevated of the pyramids, stands the tomb of Daniel, a small and apparently modern building, erected on the spot where the relics of that prophet are believed to rest." Mr. Kinneir^b gives us also a short notice of the tomb of Jonah, in the following words: "On the opposite bank of the Tigris from Mosul, and about three quarters of a mile from that stream, the village of Nunia, and sepulchre of the prophet Jonas, seem to point at the position of Nineveh, the largest city perhaps that ever existed in the world." The sepulchre of the prophet Zechariah is thus described by Captain Light: "At the head of the valley of Siloe (at Jerusalem,) is said to be the tomb of Zechariah. This is a square building cut out of the rock, by which it is surrounded on three of its sides: they are about ten feet each: the height of the monument is about fourteen feet, surrounded by an entablature and cornice, included in the height above-named, and on which is a

^a Geographical Memoir of Persia, p. 100.

^b Page 258.

pyramidal roof, terminated by a cylindrical top: at each angle of the sides of the tomb are two Ionic pilasters, and in the centre of the walls, two columns of the same order: it is without any entrance.”^a Captain Light next mentions the sepulchre of Lazarus in the following manner: “At the south end (of the mount of Olives,) near its summit, stands the village of Bethany, now called Aizarree: of course this could not be without a tomb of Lazarus. We were conducted to a subterraneous grotto, containing an altar, where mass is sometimes celebrated, said to be the place where our Saviour performed the miracle of raising him from the dead.”^b So much then for the sepulchres of individuals.

Sepulchres for families were commonly caves, either in gardens, like Macpelah, and that belonging to Joseph of Arimathea, or in some dry and elevated situation.^c—They were often cut out of the solid rock, with a huge stone for a door. When a person sold a burying-place to any one, or retained the possession of a burying-place for himself, on the sale of his estate, if there were no particulars specified, the common dimensions were understood to be four cubits long within, six cubits broad, and seven cubits high, so as to allow of three stone tables or beds (מטה *Metè*,) on each side, and two at the end, with a passage in the middle; but they were often larger. Thus, mention is made of six cubits long within, and eight cubits broad, so as to contain thirteen tables.^d Nay, they had sometimes niches in the wall, beyond the tables, to push the corpses into: so that, when a large family sepulchre was full, you saw the bodies in the niches all around, with their heads outward; the stone tables covered with the dead, and those who had been servants

^a Travels, p. 171, 172.

^b Travels, p. 173.

^c Is. xxii. 15—17.

^d Lightf. Chorograph. Cent. of Israel, ch. 100.

placed on the floor. Dr. Shaw's account of the cryptæ at Latikea, or Laodicea, gives us a distinct account of these sepulchres. "The rocky ground," says he, "where we found the sarcophagi, is hollowed out into a number of cryptæ, or sepulchral chambers, some ten, others twenty or thirty feet square; but the height is low, and never proportionable.—A range of narrow cells, wide enough to receive one coffin, sarcophagus, or *κλίνη*, and long enough sometimes for two or three, runs along the sides of these sepulchral chambers, and appears to be the only provision that was made for the reception of the dead." This account of their sepulchres easily explains how the demoniac lived among the tombs,^b and also an apparent difficulty in the Gospel history, viz. how Lazarus could come forth from his grave when he was bound? He lay extended on one of the stone tables in the family vault; at the command of Jesus he sat up, moved himself to the end of the table, slipped from it, and stood upright on the floor; when Jesus said to the astonished spectators, "Loose him and let him go." Thus the apparent difficulty is only the effect of ignorance as to eastern customs.

In so early a matter as that of the Judges, it is not to be expected that their tombs can be pointed out with great precision; but it may be gratifying to hear the state of them, as given by Captain Light when he visited the Holy Land, 1814. "We ascended through a plantation of olives," says he, "north of Jerusalem, to the tombs of the Judges, within a walled inclosure, whose only entrance was by a hole, through which I scrambled, and found myself in an open space resembling a quarry. On the west side, the rock is hewn smooth into the form of a portico, of about thirty feet long and ten high,

^a Vol. i, ch. 1.

^b Mark v. 3.

without support from columns, but with an entablature and cornice: these are ornamented by wreaths of flowers, fruits, vine-leaves, grapes, and corn, in relief, of exquisite workmanship. On the south side of this portico is a small opening, into which I crept with difficulty, and entered a chamber of ten or twelve feet square, whence was a suit of similar chambers; some of them were finished with care, others roughly hewn; parts of doors, and cornices of coarse marble lay scattered about.”^a

The following is the description which is given us of the sepulchral monument that Simon Maccabæus raised over his parents and brethren: ^b “ Simon also built a monument upon the sepulchre of his father and his brethren, and raised it aloft to the sight, with hewn stone behind and before. Moreover, he set up seven pyramids, one against another, for his father, and his mother, and his four brethren; and in these he made cunning devices, about the which he set great pillars, and upon the pillars he made all their armour, for a perpetual memory: and by the armour ships carved, that they might be seen of all that sail on the sea. This is the sepulchre which he made at Modin (in the tribe of Judah,) the city of his fathers, and it standeth yet unto this day,” or at the time when the writer of this 1st Book of Maccabees lived. In the time of Eusebius, and even in that of St. Jerome, the monument of the Maccabees was still in existence.

Hasselquist^c gives us the following account of the sepulchres of the ancient kings of Syria, in the neighbourhood of Sidon: “ They are cut out of a limestone mountain, and have their apertures level with the earth, which in most is so large, that one may enter them with ease. They consist of vaults some fathoms square, worked

^a Travels, p. 174. ^b 1 Maccab. xiii. 27—30. ^c Travels, p. 164, 165.

in the mountain, with oblong niches in the walls. In several places may be seen obscure remains of carved rock in basso relievo, over the niches, and of red painting, such as is seen in the sepulchres at Alexandria. These walls are of a workmanship much inferior to those of the Israelites at Jerusalem, and in nothing resemble those of Alexandria, though they seem made after their model. A great part of them are now open, and serve as huts for shepherds, or dens for wild beasts; but it would certainly be worth while for an antiquarian to search along this hill to discover some not yet opened, of which there is, beyond doubt, a great number."

But of all the family sepulchres of which we have any account, that of the family of David and kings of Judah, hinted at in the above extract, is the most remarkable. It lies, at present, without the walls of Jerusalem, but is supposed to have been within them before that city was destroyed by the Romans: for it is generally asserted by the Jewish writers, that no sepulchres were allowed there, but those of the house of David, Huldah the prophetess, and Jehoiada the high-priest. This sepulchral vault is minutely described by Thevenot,^a Sandy's,^b and Maundrell;^c an abridgment of which is given by Prideaux^d in the following words: "The burial-place, called the sepulchres of the kings of the house of David, was a very sumptuous and stately thing. It consists of a large court of about 120 feet square, with a gallery or cloister on the left hand; which court and gallery, with the pillars that supported it, were cut out of the solid marble rock. At the end of the gallery there is a narrow passage or hole, through which there is an entrance into a large room or hall, of about twenty-four feet

^a Part. ii. book ii. ch. 40.

^b Page 175.

^c Page 76.

^d Connection A.A.C. 699.

square, within which are several lesser rooms, one within another, with stone doors opening into them: all which rooms, with the great room, were all likewise cut out of the solid marble rock. In the sides of those lesser rooms are several niches, in which the corpses of the deceased kings were deposited in stone coffins. In the innermost or chief of these rooms was the body of Hezekiah, laid in a niche, perchance, cut on purpose at that time for it, in the upper end of that room, to do him the greater honour: and all this remains entire even to this day. It seems to have been the work of king Solomon, for it could not have been made without vast expense; and it is the only true remainder of Old Jerusalem which is now to be seen in that place.”—Thus far Prideaux: but I should add, that although these were the sepulchres of the kings of Judah, they were not all buried there: for Manasseh and Amon his son were buried in a sepulchre in the garden of Uzza,^a and Josiah in his own sepulchre.^b Chateaubriand gives a minute account of these sepulchres also—doubts if they be so ancient as the kings before the captivity; and is inclined to think that they were intended by Herod the tetrarch as the family burying-place of the Horodian family.^c

With respect to the money that is said to have been buried with persons of rank, and particularly with David, the opinions of the moderns are various. But I shall first quote the words of Josephus as to the sepulchre of David: “He was buried by his son Solomon, in Jerusalem, with great magnificence, and with all the other funeral pomp which kings used to be buried with: moreover, he had immense wealth buried with him, the vastness of which may be easily conjectured from what I

^a 2 Kings xxi. 18. 26.

^b 2 Kings xxiii. 30.

^c See his *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 102—110.

shall now say : for, one thousand and three years afterwards, Hyrcanus the high-priest, when he was besieged by Antiochus, that was called the Pious, the son of Demetrius, and was desirous of giving him money, to get him to raise the siege, and draw off his army ; and having no other method of raising the money, opened one room of David's sepulchre, and took out three thousand talents, and gave part of that sum to Antiochus, and by this means caused the siege to be raised. Nay, many years afterwards, Herod the king opened another room, and took away a great deal of money." ^a Such, then, is the account that Josephus gives ; and that a considerable sum of money might have been deposited with David's corpse is not to be doubted : but may it not be conjectured, that the large sums which were found in his sepulchre afterwards by Hyrcanus, might have been occasioned by the general insecurity of property in those troublous times, when the persons who were possessed of wealth deposited it there, as in a place of sanctity and supposed security ;—and where, having gradually accumulated, through the death or departure of the owners, it thereby became, in a certain sense, like the treasures of the temple, the property of the state ? It is probable, that the unclaimed property was taken by Hyrcanus, and that the property belonging to known individuals was allowed to remain.

Should it be said, that when once encroached upon by Hyrcanus, few would intrust their money to it afterwards, lest some other more rapacious ^b might seize the whole—or, like Herod, might convert a part to the supply of some urgent necessity—I may answer, even from Josephus himself, that the confidence of the public, as to the security of David's sepulchre, was really de-

^a Antiq. vii. 15.

^b Like Cleopatra, Antiq. xv. 4.

stroyed;—for, forgetting what he had said in the above extract, he tells us, when treating of the life of Herod,^a that “as he (viz. Herod,) had before heard that Hyrcanus, who had been king before him, had opened David’s sepulchre, and taken out of it three thousand talents of silver, and that there was still a great number left behind; he opened that sepulchre by night, and went into it secretly with a few friends; but as for money, he found none; only some furniture of gold and precious goods that were laid up there, all these he took away.” Thus all he got for his rapacity was some furniture of gold, and some precious goods, similar, perhaps, to those deposited in the sepulchre of Aristobulus by himself;^b but of money he found none. I need scarcely add that the above conjecture, as to making David’s sepulchre a place of security, is corroborated by the present application of sepulchres in the East, which are frequently places of deposit for money and other valuables, that it is accounted sacrilege even by the most despotic princes to violate.

Having dwelt so long on private and family sepulchres, we should proceed to notice concerning them, that some were visible to the eye on the slightest inspection, but others so deep or so neglected as to become invisible; and hence the phrase *μνημειον αδηλον* in Luke xi. 44. It was not unfrequent, therefore, for persons to stumble upon them before they were aware, and thereby contract ceremonial pollution; but as this would have been especially inconvenient for strangers who came to the feasts, and who could not be supposed acquainted with every place where a solitary sepulchre might chance to be, there was a general law, that on the 15th day of the 12th month, which was the month Adar,

^a Antiq. xvi. 7.

^b Antiq. xv. 3.

they should all be painted white, with chalk and water;^a and as the rains were then past, and the dry season of six months then commenced, that white-washing made them perfectly visible till the three great festivals were over. Every one, therefore, upon reflecting on this, must see the pointed nature of our Saviour's words, when he compares the Scribes and Pharisees to whited sepulchres, attractive without, but full of rottenness within.—The Jews never considered their sepulchres as mansions of the dead; at least, their words did not convey that meaning, for they called them “the house of the living,” *בית חיים* *Bith eim*, thereby intimating their abhorrence of the doctrine of the Sadducees, and their firm belief in the resurrection of the body; and it was this, perhaps, which made them take pleasure in strewing the graves of departed relatives with green leaves; flowers, branches of palm and myrtle, and surrounding them with shrubs and flowers. It was emblematical of that eternity after which they aspired.

Building, repairing, and garnishing the tombs of the prophets were accounted meritorious among the Jews;^b and that garnishing may, perhaps, have meant not only white-washing and decking them with flowers, but doing as they do at present in the East, maintaining a lamp or lamps in them, covering the tomb with a carpet more or less valuable, furnishing incense to give an agreeable smell, and surrounding them with a garden elegantly designed and neatly kept.

The monumental inscriptions among the Jews were very various: sometimes a rude stone was all that informed the traveller of the presence of a dead body. But commonly, if the sepulchre were in a rock, or the grave had a stone placed over it, a portion was smoothed,

^a Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Matt. xxiii. 28. ^b Matt. xxiii. 29, 30.

and the letters either engraved upon it with a chisel, or painted, stained, or encrusted on hard plaster with which the rock was covered, or engraven on tablets of lead. The written mountains in the wilderness of Sinai, mentioned by the preffetto of Egypt, the burying-place also of the Egyptians in the plain of mummies, mentioned by Maillet, and the engraven tables on the natural rock near the river Lycus, mentioned by Maundrell, are examples of these.^a It is not to be expected that we can be favoured with any epitaphs so early as the time of the Jewish economy; but when a cemetery of the Jews was opened in one of the suburbs of Basle, they discovered a number of Hebrew epitaphs, two of which are given us by Basnage,^b from Buxtorff, and are as follow: "I have set this stone over the head of the venerable Rabbi Eliakim, deceased. God grant he may repose in the garden of Eden, with the rest of the saints of the earth. Amen. Amen. Selah." The other is, "I have erected this monument at the head of the most holy, most chaste, and most excellent Rebecca, daughter of the holy Rabbi Samuel, the Levite, who lived in good reputation, and died the 8th of December, 135, (that is, as Buxtorff thinks, in the year 1375.) Let her soul be bound in the garden of Eden."—But the oldest is one mentioned by Buxtorff,^c which is thought to have been inscribed about the year of Christ 300, and consisted of the words שפחה זרופה, *shepehè, herupè*. "The maid servant stripped, or in reproach."

6. The Jewish idea of a separate state^d is evidently taken from their manner of burying. You are to form to yourself an idea of an immense subterraneous vault, around the sides of which were cells to receive the dead bodies. There the deceased monarchs lay in a dis-

^a Clarke's Harmer, ch. vii. ob. 18.

^b Book v. ch. 23.

^c Synag. Jud. cap. 49.

^d Isaiah, chap. xiv. 8—20. Ezek. xxxii. 23—30.

tinguished kind of state, suitable to their former rank, each on his own couch, with his arms beside him, his sword at his head, and the bodies of his chiefs and companions round about him.^a

7. To persons residing in Christian countries, where the tone of manners and of morals is raised by means of the gospel, it appears shocking to read of the cruelty committed on criminals, and the indifference with which their bodies were left after death, often without a burial, to become the prey of dogs,^b foxes,^c vultures, and other ravenous animals. One who reflects on this will not be surprised that the common place of execution at Jerusalem was called Golgotha, or the place of skulls. In the kingdom of Dahomy, in Africa, heaps of skulls are piled up in the court of the palace; and at the temple of Jugernaut, in India, the dogs are often seen tearing the bodies of the dead pilgrims.

I have said nothing hitherto of the testamentary deeds of the Jews: we have, indeed, little on the subject. The only notice in Scripture of the transmission of property, by written evidence, is in Jer. xxxii. 8—15. 44, where it appears that besides the money given in purchase, two deeds were extended by the public scribe or notary, one of which was sealed and the other open; and as this was the case in common purchases, so am I led to conjecture that it was the case in testamentary bequests; for Lucian, in his Dialogues of the Dead, makes Cnemon say, that “he had shown the testaments publicly—*δεσσαι διαθηκας εις το φανερον*,” which he had made in favour of Hermolaus, and to express his ignorance “whether Hermolaus, in return, had written his testaments in his favour—*τας εαυτου διαθηκας*.” There is at least a considerable similarity between the expressions of Jeremiah and those of Cnemon.

^a Lowth, Note.

^b Ps. lix. 6. 14.

^c Ps. lxxiii. 10.

PART XII.

SECT. I.

JUDEA, ITS LIMITS, CAPITAL, CLIMATE, AND AGRICULTURE.

Limits of Judea :

As mentioned in Gen. x. 19; as promised to Abraham in Gen. xv. 18—21; as described to Moses in Deut. xxxiv. 1, 3, and commented upon by Josephus; as existing in the days of our Saviour. Josephus's description of Judea; Samaria; Galilee; wherein the speech of the Galileans differed from that of the other Jews: the country beyond Jordan; the present state of the country, by Dr. Clarke—and a particular account of the river Jordan.

THE first notice we have of the land of Canaan, afterwards known by the general name of Judea, is in Gen. x. 19, where the borders of Canaan are said to have been "from Sidon as thou goest to Gerar unto Gaza; as thou goest unto Sodom and Gomorrah, and Admah and Zeboiim, even unto Lasha." Here the western extremity extended along the shore of the Mediterranean from Sidon to Gaza, or about 170 miles. Its southern boundary was from Gaza to the Dead Sea, where Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboiim, once stood, a space of about 70 miles. Its eastern boundary was from the Dead Sea to Lasha or Dan, at the head of the river Jordan, about 100 miles; and its northern boundary from Lasha to Sidon again, a space of about 60 miles. The people who then lived in it, according to Moses,* were the Si-

* Gen. x. 15—18.

donians on the north-west, afterwards famous for commerce; the Hittites on the south-west, near Hebron; the Jebusites at Jebus, afterwards Jerusalem; the Amorites, between the Hittites and the Dead Sea; the Gergashites, near the sea of Tiberias; the Hivites at Hermon; the Arkites at Arka, opposite the northern extremity of Lebanon; the Sinites north of the Arkites; the Arvadites at Arvad, in the island Aradus and its neighbourhood, now Rou-wadde; the Zemarites south of the Arvadites; and the Hamathites at Hamath, in the northern extremity of the land.

The second notice we have of the promised land is in Gen. xv. 18—21, where God, after having foretold the oppression of the Israelites in Egypt, promised them Canaan as an inheritance. The words are, "In that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying, Unto thy seed will I give this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates; the Kenites and the Kenizzites,* and the Kadmonites, and the Hittites, and the Perizzites, and the Rephaims, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Girgashites, and the Jebusites." But let us attend to the limits which are here pointed out. There is much difference of opinion among commentators concerning the "river of Egypt," which is here mentioned as the southern boundary of the promised land; many making it a small river between Egypt and Canaan, not far from Gaza, named Renocorura, or Rénocolura; and others the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, which emptied itself into the Mediterranean, near the ancient city Pelusium, and the nearest of the seven to the land of Canaan. Dr. Shaw is among the espousers of the last opinion, and, in a distinct dissertation,* has endeavoured to show that the

* Travels, vol. ii. ch. 2.

largest bounds ever promised of the land of Canaan were from Euphrates and Hamath to the Mediterranean on the north; along the Mediterranean to the mouth of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile on the west; up that branch to Memphis and Cairo, and across the foot of the Red Sea to Eloth, on the south; and from Eloth along the eastern side of the Dead Sea and the heights of Gilead to the river Euphrates, on the east. But it must be obvious to every one, that this is extending the boundaries of the promised land a great way too far; since, in that case, the land of Goshen, which was given them by Pharaoh to dwell in, would have been within its limits. Indeed the whole of his error seems to have arisen from his mistaking a district called Goshen, near Gibeon, for the Goshen in Egypt. As this promise to Abram was given many years after the first intimation in Gen. x. 19, it is natural to expect that some change would have happened in the nations who inhabited it: accordingly, of all the eleven sons of Canaan who then divided Canaan among them, we read only of four, viz. the Hittites, Amorites, Gergashites, and Jebusites, the rest of the names being evidently different, viz. the Kenites, Kenizzites, Kadmonites, Perizzites, Rephaims, and Canaanites. Let us see then, what part of the promised land these last inhabited. The Kenites are understood to have been the ancestors of Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, and to have dwelt on the north-west part of Arabia Petræa, or from the south border of the land of Israel lately marked out, to the shore of the Red Sea. The Kenizzites are thought to have been the offspring of Kenaz, a duke of Esau's race, afterwards better known by Idumeans or Edomites, which became tributaries to the Israelites in the days of David.^b The Kadmonites, as their

^a Josh. x. 4. xi. 16, 17.

^b 2 Sam. viii. 14.

name imports, probably signified the inhabitants to the east of Judea beyond Jordan, which were subdued by the Israelites, and their lands given to the two tribes and a half. The Perizzites are only another name for those of the sons of Canaan in ch. x. 15—18, who inhabited the mountainous part of Judea, and dwelt in villages, as the word Peruz signifies. The Rephaims dwelt in the neighbourhood of Lebanon and Gilead, and their principal city was Ashteroth Carnaim :^a and as for the Canaanites, they were probably the descendants of those other sons of Canaan, which were mentioned in ch. x. 15—18, but which, having lost their former consequence, were better known by that general name. Such, then, were the tribes and nations which inhabited the land that God promised to give to the posterity of Abram for a possession, and the distinctness of the limits teaches us both the omniscience and sovereignty of God.

The third intimation, and that which was descriptive of its limits during the greater part of the Jewish economy, was given by Jehovah to Moses before his death, and is recorded in Deut. xxxiv. 1—3, where we are told that “Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho, and the Lord showed him all the land of Gilead unto Dan, and all Naphtali and the land of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah unto the utmost sea ; and the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm trees, unto Zoar.” Any one, by casting his eye over the map of the Holy Land, will see how descriptive this is of the length and breadth of that country which was inhabited by the Israelites ; for it takes in all the space between the Mediterranean and the heights of Gilead, on the west and east, and

^a Gen. xiv. 5.

from the source of Jordan to the foot of the Dead Sea, on the north and south. This space was divided by lot among the twelve tribes, Judah, Simeon, Dan, Benjamin, Ephraim, the one half of the tribe of Manasseh, Issachar, Zebulun, Asher, and Naphtali occupying the space between the Mediterranean and the river Jordan; and Reuben, Gad, and the other half tribe of Manasseh occupying the country between Jordan and the heights of Gilead.^a

If we except, therefore, the conquests in the neighbouring countries, which were more or less extensive according to the military character of the times, this space of about 200 miles in length, by about 100 in breadth, was, properly speaking, the land of Israel. Nor did the revolt of the tribes, in the days of Rehoboam, alter its geographical limits, for it still retained the divisions given to the tribes till the times of the captivity; but after that period their former name, and the name of their country, was changed, since they were no longer called Israelites, and their land the land of Israel, but themselves Jews, and their country Judea, from the name of that tribe which came back to Jerusalem, while the boundaries of the tribes, as boundaries of property, were in a great measure laid aside.^b Accordingly, in the days of our Saviour we no longer hear of the ancient divisions, but of new ones introduced or established by the Roman power. It will be proper, therefore, to attend to these.

In a map of the Holy Land, formed to suit the times of the New Testament, we see several great divisions. Thus the whole space between the Mediterranean and the river Jordan had three, viz. Judea on the south,

^a Num. ch. xxxii. Josh. ch. xiv. 22, on which we have Josephus's Commentary in his Antiq. v. 1.

^b Joseph. Antiq. xi. 5.

Samaria in the middle, and Galilee on the north; and the space between Jordan and the heights of Gilead had six, viz. Paræa on the south, Batanea, Gaulonitis, and Galaditis in the middle, and Iturea and Traconitis on the north. Yet each of these had their subdivisions, the two principal of which were the land of the Philistines, at the side of the Mediterranean, on the south-west corner of Judea, and the land of the Phœnicians on the north-west corner of Galilee. The whole west coast of the Holy Land was, indeed, bounded by the Mediterranean; and the following is its extent: from Sirbon, on the south of Philistia, and the Holy Land to the southern border of Phœnicia, was 189 miles;^a from the south border of Phœnicia to Tyre, 5 miles;^b and from Tyre to Sidon 25 miles,^c in all 219 miles. Antoninus's Itinerary, however, makes it 232.

But let us attend to the three great divisions of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, in their order, since these formed the portions of the nine tribes and a half which dwelt between Jordan and the Mediterranean.

As for *Judea*, which was the southmost division, the following is Josephus's account of it: "The southern parts, if they be measured lengthwise, are bounded by a village adjoining the confines of Arabia, called by the Jews, that dwell there, Jordan; and its northern limit, where it joins Samaria, is the village Anuath, also called Borceos: its breadth, however, is extended from the river Jordan to Joppa, on the shore of the Mediterranean. The city of Jerusalem is situated in the very middle, on which account some have, with sagacity enough, called that city the navel of the country. Nor is Judea destitute of such delicacies as come from the sea, since its maritime places extend as far as Ptolemais.

^a Pliny, v. 13. ^b Guliel. Tyrius de Bell. Sac. Lib. iii. ^c Strabo, Lib. xvi.

(Here Josephus speaks either of another Ptolemais than that at Acre, which was on the north-west of Samaria, or takes Judea in a more extended sense than the division of which he is speaking.) It was divided into eleven portions, of which the royal city of Jerusalem was the chief, and presided over the neighbouring country as the head over the body. As for the other cities that were inferior to it, they presided over their several toparchies. Gophna was the second of them, Acrabatta the next; after them Thamna, Lydda, Emmaus, Pella, Idumea, Engaddi, Herodium, and Jericho; and after these came Jamnia and Joppa, as presiding over the neighbouring people.”^a According to the Talmud, the division called Judea was considered under four aspects, viz. the western, which lay along the Mediterranean, and in which was the land of the Philistines; the mountainous or pastoral district; the plain which lay farther east, and inclined towards Jordan; and the vale or flat which bordered on the banks of that river. The whole of this division called Judea was often denominated by the Jews the south, and the south country, because it lay to the south of Samaria, and was the most southern division of the Holy Land.

The following was the appearance of this part of the Holy Land when Hasselquist visited it April 11, 1751: “Judea,” says he, “is a country full of hills and vales, and as such it has been described both in the Old and New Testament, where it is always called a hilly land, and is every where famous for its mountains. The hills are all of a moderate height, uneven, and are not of any mathematical figure, like many others, which are either of a conic, hemispheric, or some other such form. At first, and nearest to Jerusalem, they consist of a very hard

^a War, iii. 3.

limestone, which approaches to the nature of a flint, of a whitish colour, or pretty near a pale yellow. They afterwards, and nearer the Dead Sea, consist of a more loose limestone, sometimes white, and sometimes grayish, between which are layers of a reddish micaceous stone (or *saxum purum micaceum*.) Near Jerusalem grow different sorts of plants on these hills, especially *ceratonia* or carob-tree, *myrtus* or myrtle, and *terebinthus* or the turpentine tree, but farther towards Jericho, they are bare and barren. The vales, like the hills, are not fruitful, but deserted and uncultivated, being full of pebbles, and without vegetables; nevertheless, the earth consists of a good rich mould, and would amply reward the husbandman's toil. In the beginning they are somewhat narrow, but become wider near Jordan. The great plain of Jericho extends two leagues in length along the Dead Sea" the soil of which is a grayish sandy clay, so loose that the horses feet often sunk up to the knees in it. The whole surface of the earth was covered with salt, in the same manner as in Egypt.

In advancing northwards, on leaving Judea, we enter *Samaria*, or the middle division of the country on this side Jordan. It began at Anuath and Acrabatta, and extended to Ginea, in the Great Plain. The following is Josephus's account of it: "It is entirely of the same nature with Judea, for both countries are made up of hills and valleys, are moist enough for agriculture, and are very fertile. They have abundance of trees, and are full of autumnal fruit, both that which grows wild, and that which is the effect of cultivation. They are naturally watered by many streams, but derive their chief moisture from rain water (preserved, as I understand him, in reservoirs or tanks during the dry season,)

of which they have no want; and as for those streams which they have, their waters are exceeding sweet. By reason also of the excellent grass which they have, their cattle yield more milk than those in other places; and what is the greatest sign of excellency and abundance, they each of them are very full of people.”^a

In the Life of Josephus, by himself, we learn that the length of Samaria, from north to south, was three days’ journey; for we are told that “it is absolutely necessary for those that would go quickly to Jerusalem (from Galilee,) to pass through that country; for, in that road, they might in three days’ time go from Galilee to Jerusalem.” We see also from this, that there was a natural as well as moral reason for the Evangelist saying of Christ in John iv. 4, that “he must needs go through Samaria” to Jerusalem.

Galilee was the most northerly division of Palestine, on this side Jordan. The following is Josephus’s account of it: “Galilee is encompassed (on three sides) by Phœnicia and Syria. On the west it is bounded by the territory of Ptolomais and Carmel; on the north by Tyre and the country of the Tyrians; on the east by Hippenè and Gadaris, Gaulanitis, and the kingdom of Agrippa; and on the south by Samaria and Scythopolis as far as Jordan. It is divided into upper and lower. Lower Galilee extends in length from Tiberias to Zabulon, and of the maritime places, Ptolomais is in its vicinity. Its breadth is from the village called Xaloth, which lies in the Great Plain, as far as Bersabè.—Upper Galilee begins, as to its breadth, from Bersabè, and extends to the village of Baca, which divides the lands of the Tyrians from it; and its length is from Meroth to Thella, a village near Jordan. These two Galilees

^a War, iii. 3.

have always been able to make a strong resistance in time of war, for the Galileans are inured to war from their youth, and have been always very numerous; nor has the country been ever destitute of men of courage, or wanted a numerous band of them, for their soil is universally rich and fruitful, and full of plantations of trees of all sorts; insomuch, that it invites the most slothful to take pains of its cultivation by its fruitfulness, and no part of it lies waste. The cities also lie very thick, and many villages that are there are every where so full of people, by the richness of the soil, that the very least of them contained (before the war,) above 15,000 inhabitants. (Josephus surely means cities, and not villages). In short, if any one will suppose that Galilee is inferior to Peræa in magnitude, he will be obliged to prefer it in point of strength, for it is all capable of cultivation, and is every where fruitful.”^a The Talmud furnishes us with some additional particulars concerning this portion of Palestine. It began, we are told, at Ginea and Bethshan, or Scythopolis, and extended to Sidon and Antilibanus, forming three subdivisions, viz. Upper Galilee, from Caphar-hananiah upwards, which could not produce sycamores, these trees requiring a deep soil and low situation; Lower Galilee, from Caphar-hananiah downwards, which could produce sycamores; and the valley of Galilee, which extended along the sea or lake of Tiberias. The Galileans are mentioned in Scripture as differing from the rest of the Jews in their mode of pronounciation, and the following are stated to have been the differences: they used Ain γ for Aleph \aleph ; Caph κ for Beth β ; Thau τ for Daleth δ ; and frequently changed the gutturals.^b

Such were the principal divisions to the west of Jor-

^a War, iii. 3.

^b Lightf. Chorog. Cent. of Israel, ch. 59. 87.

dan; and if we cross that river and examine the eastern districts, which were inhabited by the two tribes and a half before the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, we shall find them the following, viz. Trachonitis and Ituræa on the north; Batanea, Gaulonitis, and Galaditis in the middle; and Peræa on the south.—The northern and middle divisions “were parts,” as Josephus informs us, “of the kingdom of Agrippa. They began at Mount Libanus and the fountains of Jordan, reaching (downwards) in breadth to the Lake of Tiberias, and extending in length (between Jordan and Arabia,) from a village called Arpha as far as Julias: its inhabitants were a mixture of Jews and Syrians.”* As for the remaining division of *Peræa*, which lay along the lower part of Jordan, between the brook Jabbok and the head of the Dead Sea, the following is Josephus’s account of it: “As for *Peræa*, which is indeed much larger (than the two Galilees) in extent, the greater part of it is desert, rough, and less disposed for the production of the milder kinds of fruits; yet it has a moist soil in other parts (a matter of the utmost consequence in the East,) and produces all kinds of fruits; and its plains are planted with trees of various sorts, but the olive, the vine, and the palm-tree, are chiefly cultivated there. It is also sufficiently watered with torrents which issue from the mountains, and with springs that never fail to run when the torrents fail, as they do in the dog days. Now the length of *Peræa* is from Machærus (at the head of the Dead Sea) to Pella (at the brook Jabbok,) and its breadth, from Philadelphia (in the heights of Gilead) to Jordan. Its northern parts are bounded by Pella; its western by Jordan; the land of Moab is its southern border, and its eastern limits reach to Arabia

* War, iii. 3.

and Silbonitis, Philadelphine and Gerasa.”^a The Tal-mud tells us that its exposure was all westerly, and its descent was divided by three imaginary lines, the highest of which was styled mountainous, in which was Mount Macvar, Gedor, &c.; the second was styled the Plain, in which was Heshbon with all its cities, viz. Dibon, Bamoth-baal, Beth-baalmeon, &c.; and the third was denominated the Valley, in which were Beth-haran, Bethnimrah, Succoth, &c. This was the way in which they divided Peræa.^b

With respect to the relative situation of Judea as to other countries, I cannot do better than give the account of Tacitus, who says, that “it was bounded by Arabia on the east, by Egypt on the south, by Phœnicia and the Mediterranean sea on the west, and Syria on the north.”^c

The above sketch of the Holy Land may be appropriately concluded with the following extract from Dr. Clarke’s Travels:^d “Under a wise and beneficent government the produce of the Holy Land would exceed all calculation: its perennial harvest, the salubrity of its air, its limpid springs, its rivers, lakes, and matchless plains, its hills and vales; all these, added to the serenity of its climate, prove this land to be, indeed, a field which the Lord hath blessed. God hath given it of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine.”

But in the above short description of the Holy Land, we ought not to overlook the principal river that runs through its whole extent from north to south, the river

^a War, iii. 3.

^b Lightf. Chorog. Cent. of Land of Israel, ch. 91.

^c “Terra finesque, qua ad orientem vergunt, Arabia terminantur; a meridie, Egyptus objacet: ab occasu, Phœnices et mare; septentrionem a latre Syriæ longè prospectant.”

Historiar. Lib. v. 6.

^d Vol. iii. part ii. ch. 16.

Jordan. This far-famed stream has its source at Phiala, 120 furlongs (15 miles) from Cæsarea, and on the right hand of the road to Trachonitis. It had the name of Phiala given to it because of its resemblance to a bowl, and its waters were brimful at all seasons. Before the days of Philip the tetrarch, Panium, and not Phiala, was reckoned the source of Jordan; but he having thrown chaff into the spring of Phiala, and that having come out at Panium, a subterraneous passage between the two springs was thereby discovered. Phiala, then, is the real, and Panium the visible source of the river Jordan.^a A little below Panium is the lake Semechonitis: it is 60 furlongs ($7\frac{1}{2}$ miles) long, and 30 furlongs ($3\frac{1}{2}$ miles) broad; but it is rather a marsh than a lake, being dry almost in summer, and overgrown with shrubs and reeds, and only overflowed by the Jordan in winter.^b Having left this marsh, the Jordan proceeds 120 furlongs (15 miles) before it reaches the Lake of Gennezareth, sea of Tiberias, or of Galilee,^c through a country where it is almost hid with shady trees, chiefly of the platanus kind, poplars, alders, tamerisks, and reeds.^d The following is Josephus's account of the Lake of Gennezareth: Its breadth is 40 furlongs (5 miles,) and its length 140 furlongs ($17\frac{1}{2}$ miles.) The waters are sweet and agreeable to the taste, finer than the thick waters of other lakes, and cooler than one would expect in so inland a place (probably from the depth of the lake, and the springs which rise in it;) for when this water is kept in the open air, it is as cold as that which is cooled with snow, which the country people are accustomed to make by night in summer. There are several kinds of fish in it, different both in taste and appearance from those

^a Joseph. War, iii. 10. ^b War, iv. 1. Pococke, vol. ii. p. 72. Sandys, p. 110.

^c War, iii. 10.

^d Pococke, vol. ii. p. 72, 73. Sandys, p. 110.

elsewhere," but Josephus does not enter into particulars.^a When Captain Light visited this beautiful sheet of water in 1814, the situation of the town of Tiberias struck him as exceedingly picturesque. It contained two thousand inhabitants, stood on the west side of the lake, close by the water's edge, and nearer the north than the south end. Its houses were scattered irregularly within its walls, and the minarets of two or three mosques, intermixed with cypress, grouped well with the neighbouring cupolas. The opposite or eastern shore was confined by bold, barren, precipitous rocks, and hills of sandstone; and as he was leaving the town, and was walking along the shore, he trod the ground celebrated for the miracle of the unclean spirits, driven by our Saviour into the herd of swine. The tombs where the possessed lodged still exist in the form of caverns, on the sides of the hills that rise from the shore of the lake, and, from their wild appearance, may well be considered the habitations of men exceeding fierce, and possessed with devils. They extend to the distance of more than a mile from the present town; but of the other towns, celebrated in the New Testament as once bordering on the lake, there are no traces left.^b In the days of Josephus the adjoining country, for several miles on the same side of the lake on which Tiberias stood, must have been exceedingly rich; for in War iii. 10, he thus describes it: "The country that lies over against this lake hath the name also of Gennezareth. Its nature is wonderful, as well as its beauty, for the soil is so fruitful, and the temperature of the air so admirably mixed, that it agrees well with trees of very different kinds: walnuts, which require a cold atmosphere; palm-trees, which grow best in hot exposures; and fig-trees and

^a War, iii. 10.

^b Travels, p. 203—206.

olives, which require an air that is temperate, all flourishing in the greatest plenty in this favourite district. One may call it the ambition of nature, for it forces those plants that are naturally enemies to one another to grow together. It is a happy contention of the seasons, as if every one of them laid claim to this country; for it not only nourishes different sorts of autumnal fruit beyond men's expectations, but preserves them also a great while. It supplies men with grapes and figs during ten months in the year, and the rest of the fruits as they become ripe through the whole year: for, besides the good temperature of the air, it is also watered from a most fertile fountain, which the people from the country call Capharnaum, and which some of them have (ignorantly) thought to be a vein of the Nile, because it produces the Coracin fish, as well as that lake in the neighbourhood of Alexandria. The whole length of this district of Gennezareth," adds Josephus, "extends 30 furlongs ($3\frac{1}{4}$ miles,) and its breadth 20 furlongs ($2\frac{1}{2}$ miles."^a) We have now descended the Jordan about 40 miles, namely, to the foot of the lake of Gennezareth, but after that we are not particularly informed by Josephus of the length of its course in its way to the lake Asphaltites. He only says, in general, after the above extract, that "it ran between the one lake and the other a long way over a desert," which, considering the general amelioration of soil and scenery, as rivers approach their termination, would have been to us inexplicable, if, in describing what was generally known by the Great Plain, he had not accidentally given us a key to it; for then^b he says, that "The Great Plain reaches from the village Gennabris, as far as the lake Asphaltites, being in length 230 furlongs, and in

^a See a map of the lake of Gennezareth, and the places adjacent, in Lightfoot's Chorographical Decad. on Mark ch. viii.

^b War, iv. 8.

breadth 120, divided in the midst by the river Jordan, and having within it two lakes, that of Asphaltites and Tiberias. It is much burnt up, he adds, in summer, and infected, in consequence of its drought, with unwholesome air, for it is all destitute of water except the river Jordan, which makes the palm-trees on its banks appear flourishing and fruitful, whilst those that are farther removed are stunted in their growth." Now from this extract we may infer two things; 1st, what he meant in War, iii. 10, by the desert country through which the Jordan ran, from the time of its leaving the lake of Gennezareth till it reached the Dead Sea: and, 2dly, the distance between these two lakes, for as they were both within the limits of the Great Plain, and probably lay at the northern and southern extremities of it, the course of the Jordan, from the place it left the one lake till it emptied itself into the other, must have been 230 furlongs, or $28\frac{1}{2}$ miles. It seems, however, that there is some inaccuracy in the above account, for modern travellers make the distance between the two lakes to be much greater.—Thus Captain Light makes it about sixty miles; and when describing the Jordan in that space, says, that when it left the lake of Tiberias, it seemed almost stagnant, as far as his eye could reach, from its numerous windings, was muddy, flowed in a breadth of about thirty feet, on the 11th September, which was the end of the dry season, amidst reeds and rushes, but was described to him as becoming much more rapid when it drew near the Lake Asphaltites.* Here then, we have two accounts of the length of Jordan; for, adding Josephus's $28\frac{1}{2}$ miles below the foot of the Lake of Tiberias to the 40 above it, we have $68\frac{1}{2}$ miles; whilst by adding Captain Light's account, we have no

* Travels, p. 206, 207.

less than 100 ; which last, from the geographical extent of Judea, seems to be the true one. But after having run so long a course, and received the tributary streams on either side, it may well be supposed to have acquired a very considerable magnitude. The reader, therefore, will be gratified with the following extract from Dr. Shaw's Travels,^a where we are told, that with respect to the rivers, the Jordan was not only the most considerable in the Holy Land, but, next to the Nile, was by far the largest he had seen, either in the Levant or Barbary : he could not compute it, however, to be more than thirty yards broad ; but that was made up by its depth ; which, even at the brink, he found to be nine feet. If then, says he, we take this during the whole year for the mean depth of the stream, which runs about two miles an hour, the Jordan will daily discharge into the Dead Sea about 6,090,000 tons of water.—Chateaubriand found it in October, 1806, to be, “six or seven feet deep close to the shore, and about fifty paces in breadth,” and of a yellow colour, probably from the autumnal rains.^b As for the scenery near the foot of the Jordan, the following was the aspect it presented to Maundrell (1697 :) “Somewhat less than a furlong from the river, there runs along a small descent, which may be fitly called the first and outermost bank, as far as which it may be supposed the river does, or at least did, anciently overflow at some seasons : viz. at the time of harvest,^c or as it is expressed in 1 Chron. xii. 15, ‘in the first month.’ But at present, whether it be because the river has, by its rapidity of current, worn its channel deeper than it was formerly, or whether because its waters are diverted some other way, it seems to have forgot its ancient greatness : for we could discern no sign nor probability of such overflowings when we were there, being the pro-

^a Chap. 2.^b Travels, vol. i. p. 406, 409.^c Josh. iii. 15.

per time for these inundations. Nay, so far was the river from overflowing, that it ran at least two yards below the brink of its channel." Between the outer and real bank of Jordan, Maundrell tells us, that the ground was covered with trees and bushes, particularly willows, tamarisks, and oleanders; so that he could see no water till he made his way through them. And it was in this thicket that several kinds of wild beasts were wont to conceal themselves, which being washed out of their covert, by the overflowings of the river, gave occasion for the prophet to compare the impatience of Edom and Babylon, under God's judgments, to "the coming up of a lion from the swellings of Jordan."^a

Thus have we followed this noble river from its source till it empties itself in the Dead Sea. A few notices of that remarkable lake shall finish the present general description. The Dead Sea is stated by Josephus^b to be 580 furlongs ($72\frac{3}{4}$ miles) in length, and 150 furlongs ($18\frac{3}{4}$ miles) in breadth. Maundrell found its waters to be very limpid; not only salt, but bitter and nauseous, and uncommonly buoyant: which last circumstance is owing to the immense quantity of salts of various kinds it is known to contain, being nearly 25 parts in 100, while common seawater is only 1 in 32.^c The quantity of

^a Jer. xlix. 19. l. 44.

^b War, iv. 8.

^c The following is the result of the experiments made by Dr. Marcet, of Guy's Hospital, London, on a phial of Dead Sea water, that had been brought by Mr. Gordon of Cluny, at the request of Sir Joseph Banks.

It is perfectly transparent. Re-agents demonstrate the presence of marine and sulphuric acid. There is no alumine. It is not saturated with marine salt. It does not change turnsol and violet. It holds in solution the following substances, and in the under-mentioned proportions:

In 100 parts of water were

Muriate of Lime	3.920
Muriate of Magnesia	10.246
Muriate of Soda	10.360
Sulphate of Lime	.034

24.580

bitumen which is found either floating on its waters, or lying on the shore, hath been often noticed ; and the death-like appearance which it every where presents, by the baneful influence of saline effluvia on vegetation, naturally reminds the traveller of those awful judgments that were the cause of its formation : while the constant influx of the waters of Jordan and other streams into that extensive lake, without increasing its geographical limits, is an additional example of the law of evaporation, which restores to the clouds what had descended from them in dews and rains. Dr. Shaw notices this difficulty, and satisfactorily removes it. " Such a quantity (of water," says he, " as the 6,090,000 tons formerly mentioned) daily received from Jordan without increasing the limits of that sea, has made some conjecture, that it is absorbed by the burning sands ; and others, that it is carried off through subterraneous cavities, or that it has a communication with the Serbonic Lake : but if the Dead Sea is, according to the general computation, 72 miles long and 18 broad, by allowing, according to Dr. Halley's observation, 6914 tons of vapour for every square mile, there will be daily drawn up in clouds, to refresh the earth with rain or dew, 8,960,000 tons, which is near one third more than is brought into it by this river :"—and which of course may be applied to the quantity discharged by the other streams of less note which surround the lake.*

It is worthy of remark, that a phial of the water of Jordan, analysed at the same time, contained no salt ; and thereby refuted the infidel objection as to the excessive saltiness of the Dead Sea being occasioned by the salt brought down the river Jordan, and deposited in that lake.—London Philosoph. Transact. for 1807, part ii. art. 16.

* See a map of the Dead Sea and the country adjacent, in Lightfoot's Chorographical Decad. on Mark, ch. ii. sect. 3 ; and Tacitus's account of this singular lake in his Historiar. v. 6.

SECT. II.

The Jewish Capital :

Jerusalem, when founded ; in what tribes situated ; the different gates in the city wall, viz. the sheep-gate, fish-gate, old-gate, valley-gate, dung-gate, gate of the fountain, gate of Ephraim, gate of Benjamin, prison-gate, water-gate, horse-gate, gate of Miphkad. Mountains within the city will : Mount Zion, Moriah, Acra, Bezetha. Some of the public buildings and streets. Present state of Jerusalem.

JERUSALEM is thought to have been founded by Melchizedec about the year of the world 2023, and called Salem, which signifies peace. After his death it was possessed by the Jebusites 847 years, and called from them Jebus ;^a when it was taken by David, and made the capital of his kingdom, under the name of Jebus-salem, or (euphonæ gratiâ,) Jerusalem. In this state of eminence it continued 477 years, when it was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. During the 70 years' captivity it lay waste : after which it arose from its ashes, and continued 562 years, till it was destroyed by Titus.

It did not belong to any one tribe, but was partly in the tribe of Judah and partly in the tribe of Benjamin, and the distinguishing line went through the very court of the temple ; for the whole of the court of the Gentiles on the east, the whole of the court of the women, the east end of the court of Israel, and of the priests, and the south-east corner of the altar, were in the tribe of Judah, and the rest of the altar, and all the rest of the 500 cubits space that lay to the west, belonged to Benjamin.^b It is natural to think, that when it became the capital of the kingdom, and the place where the temple was built, every mean would be used to render it impregnable : and accordingly, high walls, massy gates,

^a 1 Chron. xi. 4.

^b Lightf. Chorog. Cent. of the Land of Israel, ch. 21.

and towers of observation and annoyance, were the most natural and effectual measures adopted. But we do not hear distinctly of these till after the return from the captivity, when Nehemiah recorded the portions which each of them repaired. This document is therefore deserving of our attention, both as on account of the then circuit of the city, and as settling the situation of the gates and streets which are mentioned in Scripture. Let us accompany, therefore, Nehemiah in his description, and notice the various objects which present themselves. He begins^a with the *sheep-gate*, which, from the subsequent account, and its proximity to the temple, whither the flocks of sheep for sacrifice were driven, was evidently placed on the south side of the city, and near to the south-east corner of that side: it is therefore called by Jeremiah^b “the gate of the corner;” and in John v. 2, it is represented as in the neighbourhood of Bethesda, which we know to have been in that direction.—Travelling from this sheep-gate along the side of the south wall, and with our faces to the west, we come next to the *fish-gate*,^c between which were the two towers of observation named Meah and Hananeel. The *old-gate*^d was also on the south side of the city, but farther west than the fish-gate; and “the broad wall,” mentioned verse 8th, appears to have been near the south-west, and so named from the lowness of the ground in that quarter, which required the wall to have a wide foundation, in order to raise it to the height of the rest. These, then, were the gates on the south side of the city. The *valley-gate*^e is understood to have been on the west side of the city, and not far from the south-west corner, where “the tower of the furnaces,” mentioned verse 11th, evidently were. The *dung-gate*^f was

^a Neh. iii. 1.^b Ch. xxxi. 38.^c Neh. iii. 3.^d Verse 6.^e Verse 13.^f Ibid.

on the west side of the city also, and a thousand cubits farther north than the valley-gate. And the *gate of the fountain*^a was on the west side also, but farther north than the dung-gate: it had its name from Gihon, or the place where Siloam took its rise;^b and which, after winding round the south-west corner, and the whole south side of the city, entered the city wall in the south-east corner, to form the pool of Siloam, or Bethesda, and then retired towards the brook Kidron. It was beyond this gate of the fountain, and lying more towards the north, that the wall of the pool of Siloah, by the king's gardens, the wall opposite the stairs that led to the city of David, the wall opposite the sepulchres of David, the king's pool, and the house of the mighty, or the armoury, mentioned in verses 15, 16, evidently were. This last place is said to have been "at the turning of the wall," in verse 19: so that we are now come to the north-west corner. Although it is needless to mention who the persons were who repaired the wall in Nehemiah's time, since they are distinctly set down by him in the chapter we are considering, we may notice the person who seems first to have placed towers of observation and annoyance upon it: this was Uzziah, king of Judah, who, in 2 Chron. xxvi. 9, is said to have "built towers in Jerusalem, at the corner-gate, and at the valley-gate, and at the turning of the wall; and to have fortified them." We have now, therefore, traversed the south and west sides of the city wall, and proceed to the north. But on the north side of the city we do not read of any gate, for between "the turning of the wall," mentioned in verses 19, 20, and "the turning of the wall," in verses 24, 25, that is to say, along the whole length of the north side of the city,

^a Verse 15.^b Lightf. Chorograph. Cent. of Israel, ch. 25.

although several are spoken of as building over against their houses, no gate is mentioned: but it is natural to think that there were several, although Nehemiah has not here mentioned them. Indeed, we have an account given of two others elsewhere, which were probably in that wall. Thus, when Nehemiah purified the city of Jerusalem, in ch. xii. 39; and long before that, when Jehoash king of Israel took Amaziah king of Judah, we are told that “he brake down the wall of Jerusalem, from the gate of Ephraim unto the corner-gate, 400 cubits.”^a And Jeremiah^b speaks of another gate, called the “gate of Benjamin:” it is probable, therefore, that these gates were in the north wall; for the portions of Ephraim and Benjamin lay in that direction, only that the gate of Benjamin lay most to the east, and was therefore said to be by or near the house of the Lord.^c At the north-east corner was “the tower which lay out from the king’s house, near the court of the prison;”^d near which last place, it is probable that the *prison-gate*, mentioned in Neh. xii. 39, was situated.—And on the east side of the city, we read of three gates: the first of which, exactly opposite the east gate of the temple, and at the foot of Moriah, was the *water-gate*,^e near which the waters of Etam, which were employed in the temple service, passed, to empty themselves into the brook Kidron. Beyond the water-gate, the wall which inclosed Ophel led to the *horse-gate*,^f which was also on the east side of the city, but farther south.

In 2 Chron. xxiii. 15, we read of Queen Athaliah being slain, “when she was come to the entering of the horse-gate, by the king’s house; but that was a different gate from the one we are now considering: for it evidently lay within the city, somewhere between Zion

^a 2 Kings xiv. 13.

^b Ch. xxxvii. 13. xxxviii. 7.

^c Jer. xx. 2.

^d Neh. iii. 25.

^e Verse 26.

^f Verse 28.

and the gate Shallecheth, on the west side of the temple, which was the gate that lay nearest to Zion, and that by which the kings of Judah commonly entered the temple of the Lord. It is probable that the horse-gate at which Athaliah was slain, was either the entry that led to the royal stables, which lay in that direction, or the entry by which those troops of horse that attended the king went to, and returned from, the royal palace.

The last gate which Nehemiah mentions is the gate Miphkad.^a—This was situated, also, in the east wall of the city, not far from the south-east corner; so that, by turning that corner, we come to the sheep-gate, from which we set out. It would appear that Manasseh was the first who properly defended these north and east sides of the city, before it was taken by Nebuchadnezzar: for it is said in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14, that “he built a wall without the city of David, or Mount Zion, on the west side of Gihon, in the valley, even to the entering in at the fish-gate, and compassed about Ophel, raising it to a very great height.”—For the fountain of Gihon, or Siloam, was, as we saw, near the north-west corner of the city wall, and the sheep-gate on the south-east; so that he fortified the north and east walls, as Uziah had formerly fortified the west wall.^b

Hitherto we have attended to the wall as it was repaired in the days of Nehemiah: but it is natural to suppose, that very important changes would happen between that time and the destruction of the city by Titus. Let us then examine the account of Josephus, as we find it in his Wars of the Jews, v. 4.—The city, says he, was built upon two hills, viz. Zion and Acra, which are opposite to each other, and have a valley between them; at which valley, the corresponding rows of houses, on both

^a Verse 31.

^b 2 Chron. xxvi. 9.

hills, end.—Of these hills, that which contains the Upper City, or Mount Zion, is much the higher, and, in length, is more direct. It was called the Citadel by king David: but in Josephus's time, it was called the Upper Market-place. The other hill, viz. Acra, is the site of the Lower City, and in form resembles the moon when she is horned. Over against Acra, there was a third hill, considerably lower, and parted from it by a broad valley, called the Valley of the Cheesemongers; but, when the Asmonæans reigned, they filled it up, by lowering Mount Acra, with the intention of joining the city to the temple.—These hills, then, formed the situation of what was called the Old City, and were surrounded by the wall mentioned in Nehemiah, which we have already considered; but as Josephus describes its distances by the objects which existed in his days, I shall perambulate it also with him.—It began, on the north, at the tower called Hippicus, extended to the Xistus, then to the Council-house, and from that to the west cloister of the temple.—It started again from the east cloister, reached to a certain place called Ophlas, then to Solomon's pool, then towards the fountain Siloam, then to the gate of the Essenes, till, through a place called Bethso, it reached the tower of Hippicus again. On the outside of this wall, were steep precipices and deep valleys, especially towards the north and east, so that by reason of these, and of the height of the wall, the city was considered impregnable. In the course of time, however, the city became extended beyond its ancient limits northward, and made a second wall necessary; which took its rise from that gate in the old wall, called Gennath, somewhere, probably, about Mount Zion, and encompassed the northern quarter of the city, extending from Gennath to the tower Antonia. The third wall was but a recent erection, being planned and begun by

Agrippa, but prevented from being finished by him through the jealousy of the Romans. It was far longer than either the first or the second wall, for it formed a circuit considerably without them. It began at the tower Hippicus, encompassed Bezetha, or the New City, which lay north of the temple, took a wider range than the second wall, round the north side of the city, came by the tower Psephinus, in the north-west corner, went along the west side by the monument of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, and the sepulchres of the kings, made a wide circuit round the south-west corner, passed the Fuller's field, and joined the old wall at the valley of Cedron. Had Agrippa not been prevented, he intended it to have been built of stones 20 cubits long and 10 cubits broad, which would scarcely have been undermined by iron tools, or shaken by engines. But the Jews afterwards did what they could to complete it. Accordingly, when besieged by the Romans, it was 10 cubits wide and 20 cubits high, besides battlements of 2 cubits, and turrets of 3 cubits, so that the entire height was 25 cubits. Along each of the walls was a chain of towers, having a foundation of solid work 20 cubits square and 20 cubits high, and above that an additional height for rooms, upper rooms, and cisterns to receive rain-water. The old wall had 60 of these towers; the second wall 40; and the third wall 90; whilst the compass of the city was 33 furlongs. Such is the substance of Josephus's account of Jerusalem, when it began to be besieged by Titus. He says nothing, indeed, in this place, of the ditch that surrounded the city on the outside of the wall; but in other places he supplies the defect. For he tells us* that "there was a broad and deep ditch, that encompassed the city, and included within it the temple:"

* Antiq. xiv. 4.

and again,^a that "Pompey himself filled up the ditch that was on the north side of the temple, and the entire valley also; adding, that it was indeed a hard thing to fill up that valley, by reason of its immense depth." But Strabo is more particular, for he says that it was 60 feet deep, and 250 feet broad.^b

The above is all that appears necessary of the general history of Jerusalem, and if we enter the gates, and endeavour to describe the city from Scripture, we shall have much fewer intimations of its streets and buildings than we would imagine. We know, indeed, that there were four different eminences on which the city stood, but we read of few public buildings except Millo,^c the armoury,^d the court of the prison,^e and the governor's house,^f and a few only of the names of the streets have survived the lapse of time. Thus we have the east street mentioned in 2 Chron. xxix. 4. xxxii. 6; the street of the house of God in Ezra x. 9; the street of the water-gate, and the street of the gate of Ephraim in Neh. viii. 16; and the baker's street in Jer. xxxvii. 21. Josephus gives us some additional notices, which have been arranged by Lamy and D'Anville, but I shall content myself with referring to their works.^g

As to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, on the 10th day of the month Abib, A. D. 70, it hath become proverbial. I shall, therefore, only remark concerning the numbers which were then sold or destroyed; that those who were carried away captive, during the whole

^a War, i. 7.

^b Lib. xxi. p. 763. See Tacitus's Account of Jerusalem in his Historiar. lib. vi. 11, 12. ^c 1 Kings ix. 24. ^d Cant. iv. 4. ^e Jer. xxxii. 2.

^f Matt. xxvii. 2.

^g Bernardus Lamy, Lib. iv. cap. 1—7, treats largely of the city of Jerusalem, its gates, towers, circuit, public and private buildings; and D'Anville, in his Dissertation on the extent of ancient Jerusalem, its temple, and the Hebrew measures of length, detects a number of Lamy's errors.

war, were computed at 97,000, and those who perished during the siege at 1,100,000;^a and Archbishop Usher, from Lypsius, out of Josephus, states, that the whole multitude of Jews that were destroyed during the whole war, in all the countries of and bordering on Judea, was no fewer than 1,337,490.

There are now few remains of the city either as it was in the days of our Saviour, or as it was afterwards rebuilt by Adrian, scarcely one stone being left upon another that hath not been thrown down. Dr. Shaw tells us, that "Its very situation is greatly altered, for mount Zion, the highest part of the old Jerusalem, is now excluded, while the places adjoining to mount Calvary, where Christ suffered without the gate, are now almost in its centre." This new Jerusalem, then, as, it may be called, when compared with the old, is a modern city, and when Maundrell measured it, he found it to be two English miles and a half in circumference. Dr. Clarke visited it in July 1801, and gave the following description: "We had not been prepared," says he, "for the grandeur of the spectacle which the city alone exhibited. Instead of a wretched and ruined town, by some described as the desolated remnant of Jerusalem, we beheld, as it were, a flourishing and stately metropolis, presenting a magnificent assemblage of domes, towers, palaces, churches, and monasteries, all of which, glittering in the sun's rays, shone with inconceivable splendor. As we drew nearer, our whole attention was engrossed by its noble and interesting appearance. The lofty hills, whereby it is surrounded, give to the city itself an appearance of elevation inferior to that which it really possesses."—Chateaubriand visited it five years after in A. D. 1806, and his account, though equally true, is less

^a Joseph. War, vi. 9.

enthusiastic. "On foot," says he, "if you keep close to the walls, it takes scarcely an hour to make the circuit of Jerusalem. The walls form an oblong square, the four sides facing the four winds, and the longest running from west to east, two points of the compass to the south. They are flanked with square towers, and may be, on the platform of the bastions, about 30 feet thick, and 120 feet high, having no other ditches than the valleys surrounding the city. When seen from the mount of Olives, on the other side of the valley of Jehoshaphat, Jerusalem presents an inclined plane, descending from west to east. An embattled wall, fortified with towers and a Gothic castle, encompasses the city all round, excluding, however, part of Mount Zion, which it formerly enclosed. In the western quarter, and in the centre of the city towards Calvary, the houses stand very close; but in the eastern part, along the brook Cedron, you perceive vacant spaces, among the rest that which surrounds the mosque erected on the ruins of the temple, and the nearly deserted spot, where once stood the castle of Antonia, and the second palace of Herod. "The houses of Jerusalem," he adds, "are heavy square masses, very low, without chimnies or windows: they have flat terraces, or domes on the top, and look like prisons or sepulchres. The whole would appear to the eye one uninterrupted level, did not the steeples of the churches, the minarets of the mosques, the summits of a few cypresses, and the clumps of nopals, break the uniformity of the plan."* I shall only add, what Captain Light says of this celebrated city when he visited it, A. D. 1814. "Jerusalem," says he, "known to the natives of Syria only by the name of El Kodts, a contraction for Medinat-el-Kadess, that is, the sacred city, stands on the

* Travels, vol. ii. p. 53, 84, 85, 179, 180.

west side of a valley, of which the east is the mount of Olives. It contains within its walls several of the hills on which the ancient city was supposed to have stood; but these are only perceptible by the ascent and descent of the streets. The town, viewed from the Mount of Olives, appears lying on the inclined plane of the side of the valley, on which it stands, having all its principal buildings exposed to sight, in an oblong inclosure by walls. The streets are narrow, and without pavement: the houses are seen to more advantage from the hills about the town; whence the cupolas give even an air of grandeur to them. The population is said to be twelve thousand, of which the largest portion is Musselmen; but of the sects, the greatest is that of the Jews, and the rest are composed of Christians of the east, belonging either to the Armenian, Greek, Latin, or Coptish sects.”^a

SECT. III.

Jewish Atmosphere, and its Phenomena.

Day and night antipodes; dews abundant; rain; snow; frost; hail; land and sea breezes; tornadoes; water-spouts; hurricanes; sand wind; hot wind of the desert; Samoom or Samiel; coup du soleil; the Scrab, or visionary lake of the desert; thunder; lightning; aurora borealis, the reason why never mentioned by the ancients. The winds in Judea: east wind; the Euroclydon; the west wind; the north and south winds.

THE atmosphere of every country is composed of nearly the same materials, being all those parts of the original chaotic mass which were rendered volatile and permanently elastic by means of heat, and which are mixed with all those exhalations that are constantly arising from animals and vegetables. In a chemical

^a Travels, Part II. ch. iv.

point of view, it is composed of twenty-one parts bulk of oxygen, or the basis of pure air, and seventy-nine of azote or foul air very nearly; but it is very different in weight in different elevations, and even in the same elevation at different times, from the addition or loss of those vapours, which are constantly ascending from or returning to, the earth's surface. Hence the variations which are visible every day in the barometer. But besides the general laws which regulate all climates, every individual country has its atmosphere affected by local circumstances. Thus, the geographical situation of Judea has a peculiar effect on the column of air which is suspended over it. Casting a bird's-eye glance over that district from west to east, we have three leading varieties: first, a gradual rise from the Mediterranean to the top of the mountains; secondly, a gradual descent from the top of the mountains to the river Jordan; and thirdly, another ascent from the river Jordan to the top of the mountains of Gilead. It is easy to see that, from the situation and degree of latitude, the district nearest the sea will have its otherwise natural temperature cooled by its vicinity to that element, which is nearly the same summer and winter, or 48° of Fahrenheit; and that the deep vale of Jordan will be warm like an oven; while the ridges of mountains on either side will often feel exceedingly cold: for cold is both relative and real: relative, when a person with open pores ascends from a warm to a cold elevation; and real, because the air is there chill from its increasing rarity, and the want of reflection of the sun's rays from an extended, solid, and heated surface. Hence we are told, that the cold is great on Mount Sinai, Lebanon, Antilibanus, and the other high mountains, while the valleys below have excessive heat; and that the persons visiting, or residing

on them, often use furs in the night, from the intensity of the cold.^a

The phenomena of the atmosphere depend much on its difference of temperature, and the presence or absence of electricity. The day and night in these climates are antipodes to each other: for the nights are very cold, even when the mornings are warm, and the days excessively hot.^b Nor is this to be wondered at, if we consider the force of a vertical sun for many hours together, and the copious precipitation of vapour which follows his setting. Indeed, the dews in the Holy Land are abundant; for, from the excessive heat of the sun, a vast quantity of vapour is raised during the day, which is suspended in the air, and chemically united with it; but, as the colds of night are very piercing, no sooner has the sun left the horizon, than the dews begin to fall, from the want of capacity in the air to keep it suspended, in its cooled state; just as a quantity of salts is completely dissolved in boiling water, but, as the water cools, they are precipitated, and formed again into crystals at the bottom. Travellers have felt the truth of these observations while visiting that country. Thus Maundrell tells us, that "he was sufficiently instructed by experience, what the holy psalmist meant by the dews of Hermon, his tents being as wet with it as if it had rained all night," (March 22.) And Dr. Shaw,^c when speaking of the mists and dews of Arabia Petrea, remarks, that "the dews particularly (as they had the heavens only for their covering) would, in the night, frequently wet them to the skin; but no sooner was the

^a Sir John Malcolm, in his *Persia*, a poem, informs us, that "when the camp of the British mission, which visited Persia in 1810, was pitched on the plain of Hubatoo, which lies about 37° of north latitude (nearly parallel with the north of Judea,) and is situated near the centre of Kurdistan, the water kept in the tents froze during the night of the 17th of August." Note z.

^b Harmer's *Ob.* vol. i. p. 73, &c.

^c Page 440.

sun risen, and the atmosphere a little heated, than the mists were quickly dispersed, and the copious moisture which the dews had communicated to the sands would be entirely evaporated." How descriptive is this of those temporary impressions of goodness which too many feel! And how forcibly does Jehovah represent by it the conduct of Israel in Hosea vi. 4: "O, Ephraim, what shall I do unto thee? O, Judah, what shall I do unto thee? for your goodness is as a morning cloud; and as the early dew it goeth away." See also Hosea xiii. 3, where the effects of the divine wrath in consuming the wicked are expressed by the same similitude. Such dews as these, however, are indeed needful. They cool the heated surface of the earth, and supply that nourishment to the vegetable creation of which they were deprived by the sun's heat. Accordingly, it is a law of nature, that the one is always made to counter-balance the other: that, when the heat is moderate, the dews are trifling; but when the heat is great, the dews are abundant. *Rain* is nothing else than very copious dews. When the atmosphere is considerably heated, the air is clear, and the sky cloudless: but, as it becomes cooled, the clouds appear, and a precipitation in the form of rain is at length felt. The rains in Judea, however are very different from what they are with us. For months together they are never seen; but, when they do come, it is in torrents rushing down the steep hills, destroying grain, soil, houses, flocks, and herds. (Hence the beauty of the still waters mentioned by the Psalmist in Psalm xxiii. 2.) A person long acquainted with them described them as descending not in drops, but in pipes like fingers. *Snow* is vapour frozen before it hath had time to form into drops by falling through the atmosphere; and *hail* is rain congealed. Both of them are met with in Judea. In winter the dew assumes the appearance of

hoar frost. On high situations the snow is sometimes seen to lie for a considerable time. And both on mountains and in the valleys do they experience hail.^a But it is sometimes of a dreadful size, falling in large rugged masses, destroying the corn fields and trees, and endangering the lives of animals. This is occasioned by the highly electrified state of the atmosphere. When clouds negatively and positively electrified happen to meet, they rush together to produce an equilibrium, part with the vapour which each of them contained, and occasion intense cold: this freezes the disengaged vapour in a moment, and the masses descend by their own weight. Bruce saw them in Abyssinia as large as a nutmeg.^b We meet with something like this in miniature in our own climate during a thunder-storm.—*Winds* are occasioned by the air losing its equilibrium, either by a temporary or continued application of cold or heat. When cold is applied to air, it instantly contracts it, making it occupy less space than it did, and thereby forming a kind of vacuum, which the neighbouring air on all sides rushes in to supply, and this continues till the equilibrium is restored. But if the wind be occasioned by the application of heat, the very reverse of this is experienced. The heat rarifies the air, makes it ascend like smoke from a chimney, and the surrounding air rushes in to supply the deficiency. On these principles do we explain those sudden gusts which are experienced in every country; and we have only to suppose their continued action to account for winds of greater extent and endurance. It is obvious to common observation, in almost every country, that in settled weather there is generally at the time of the sun's approach to the horizon, and a little after he is risen, a pretty brisk easterly gale. This

^a Is. xxviii, 2. 17.

^b Shaw's Abrid. p. 176.

seems to be "the breathing of the day," שִׁפּוּחַ, *Shipuh*, mentioned in Cant. iv. 6; although our translators, rather improperly, have rendered it "day-break," which conveys a different idea. We have an instance of the regular application of heat and cold in the land and sea breezes within the tropics (and in part experienced in that part of the Mediterranean which washes the coast of Judea,) where they are regular as the succession of day and night; those from the land to the sea prevailing in the night, and those from the sea to the land in the day.* Nor are the causes of this benevolent appointment of Providence difficult to explain: for the sea has always through the year the temperature of springs, which never varies, and is nearly 48° of Fahrenheit. And that part of the land of Judea lying along the shore of the Mediterranean, during the night, is commonly in the summer months cooled by dews and hoar frosts much below that temperature. As wind, therefore, is nothing but air in motion by the application of heat, so, during the night, the breeze blows regularly from the land to the sea, because the sea is warmest; and, during the day, from the sea to the land, because the land is warmest; while, in the intermediate hours of morning and evening, the air is stationary, because the heat from the sea and the heat from the land are passing and repassing the point of equilibrium. But while the inhabitants on the coast experience in a greater or less degree the pleasure of the land and sea breezes, those in the interior of the Holy Land are differently situated. The air is there sometimes calm, and hot as an oven. Sometimes sudden gusts are felt by the partial application of heat, or a cooling blast from Mount Libanus. And sometimes, after a strong appli-

* See Dr. Clarke's Travels, Part II. ch. xviii. p. 645, 647. 4to edit. 1812.

cation of heat to a particular place, the air ascends as from a chimney, with a whirling motion, along the surface of the earth, forming a vacuum in its centre, which sucks up every thing over which it passes, and carries it to an immense height, exhibiting all the appearances of a *tornado*. Accordingly, tornadoes or whirlwinds are sometimes referred to in Scripture, and have been often dangerous to travellers. They have been met with in the deserts which border on the south of Judea,* as well as in the interior. And Mr. Bruce tells us, that, when returning from Abyssinia to Egypt, through the desert of Nubia, he saw a number of columns of moving sand on either side of the tract through which he passed, which he was informed sometimes overwhelmed whole companies of travellers. What tornadoes are on land, *water-spouts* are at sea. In the one case they carry up wood, earth, stones, sand, &c.; and in the other the vacuum is filled with a column of water. They are referred to by the Psalmist in Psalm xlii. 7, and are often mentioned by travellers. Thus Sandys, describing a storm he met with on the coast of the Holy Land, near Acre, says that "spouts of water were seen to fall against the promontory of Carmel."^b And Dr. Shaw informs us, that "water-spouts are more frequent near the capes of Latikea, Greego, and Carmel (which last every one knows to be in Judea,) than in any other part of the Mediterranean. Those that he had the opportunity of seeing, seemed to be so many cylinders of water falling down from the clouds; though by the reflection, says the Doctor, of these descending columns, or from the actual dropping of the water contained in them, they would sometimes appear, especially at a distance, to be sucked up from the sea."^c Since his time, they have

* Is. xxi. 1

^b Travels, p. 161.

^c Travels, p. 333.

been more accurately examined, and found to be really what he suspected, sucked up from the sea.^a—*Hurricanes*, or violent storms of wind and rain, are not unknown in the Holy Land; and, from the heated state of the atmosphere, are peculiarly rapid. No attempts have been made to ascertain their velocity in that country; but in Jamaica they have been computed to be about 100 miles an hour.^b The following account of a hurricane by Dr. Mosely, in his treatise on tropical diseases, will give us some idea of it in Judea: “It is generally preceded,” he says, “by an awful stillness of the elements, and a closeness and mistiness in the atmosphere, which makes the sun appear red, and the stars larger. But a dreadful reverse succeeding; the sky is suddenly overcast and wild; the sea rises at once from a profound calm into mountains; the wind rages and roars like the noise of cannon; the rain descends in deluges; a dismal obscurity envelopes the earth with darkness; the superior regions appear rent with lightning and thunder; the earth often does, and always seems to tremble; and terror and consternation distract all nature. Birds and animals are terrified; they are almost suffocated by the impetuosity of the wind, in seeking for shelter; which when found, serves only for destruction. The roofs of houses are carried to vast distances from their walls, which are beat to the ground, burying their inhabitants under them. Large trees are torn up by the roots, and huge branches shivered off, and driven through the air in every direction with immense velocity. Every tree and shrub that withstands the shock is stripped of its boughs and foliage. Plants and grass are laid flat on the earth; and luxuriant spring is changed in

^a Franklin's *Phys. and Meteorol. Observations*.

^b *London Philosoph. Transact.* vol. li. p. 165, &c. where Smeaton's table of the force of winds is recorded.

a moment to dreary winter." We are not to suppose that the above is realised in every respect in Judea; but a medium between it, and what happens sometimes in Britain, may perhaps be not far from the truth. In 1 Kings xviii. 44, a small cloud rising out of the sea like a man's hand is mentioned as the signal of a hurricane of wind and rain; and the 29th Psalm gives us a striking description of it.—*Sand winds*, although little known among us, are yet exceedingly troublesome to persons in the East. The sand is so fine and dry, that it is moved with a moderate wind like drifted snow; spoils the articles of the traveller, unless inclosed in leathern bags; and affects the eyes with itchiness, inflammation, and blindness. The following is Mr. Macdonald Kinneir's account of it as seen in Mekran in Persia. "The sand of the desert," says he, "is so light in Mekran, that, when taken in the hand, the particles are scarcely palpable. It is raised by the wind into longitudinal waves, which present, on the side next the wind, a gradual slope from the base; but on the other rise perpendicularly to the height of ten feet, and at a distance have the appearance of a new brick wall. The floating sand is exceedingly disagreeable to travellers. The desert seemed, at the distance of half a mile, to be a flat surface, about eight or ten inches above the level of the waves. This cloud, or vapour, appeared constantly to recede, as they advanced, and at times completely enveloped them, filling their eyes, ears, and mouths, and causing a most disagreeable sensation. It was productive of great irritation and severe thirst, which was not a little increased by the scorching rays of the sun. The ground was so hot as to blister the feet, even through the shoes; and the natives affirmed, that it was the violent heat which occasioned the sand to move through

the atmosphere.”^a Lieutenant Porringer, in his *Travels in Beloochistan and Sind*, 1810, gives us some additional information concerning these singular winds. After having mentioned the red sandy desert, 300 miles long and 200 broad, where the particles were scarcely palpable, and the waves principally ran east and west, varying in height from ten to twenty feet, the side next the prevailing wind, which was north-west, being sloping, and the other almost perpendicular, he says that he was much incommoded by floating particles of sand. “When I first observed it,” says he, “the desert seemed, at the distance of half a mile or less, to have an elevated and flat surface, from six to twelve inches higher than the summits of the waves. This vapour appeared to recede as we advanced, and once or twice completely encircled us, leaving the horizon to a very confined space, and conveying a most gloomy and unnatural sensation to the beholder. At the same moment we were imperceptibly covered with innumerable atoms of small sand; which, getting into our eyes, mouths, and nostrils, caused excessive irritation, attended with extreme thirst, that was increased in no small degree by the intense heat of the sun.”^b Mr. Park, in his *Travels in Africa*,^c gives us an account nearly similar, telling us, that “in the afternoon the horizon to the eastward was thick and hazy, and the Moors prognosticated a sand wind; which accordingly commenced on the morning following, and lasted, with slight intermissions, for two days. The force of the wind was not in itself very great; it was what seamen would have denominated a still breeze; but the quantity of sand and dust carried before it, was such as to darken the whole atmosphere. It swept along from east

^a Geog. Memoir of the Persian Empire, p. 222, 223.

^b Page 132.

^c Chap. 10.

to west in a thick and constant stream, and the air was at times so dark and full of sand, that it was difficult to discern the neighbouring tents. As the Moors," continues he, "always dress their victuals in the open air, this sand fell in great plenty among the Kouskous; it readily adhered to the skin, when moistened by perspiration, and formed a cheap and universal hair-powder. The Moors wrap a cloth round their faces, to prevent them from inhaling the wind; and always turn their backs to the wind when they look up, to prevent the sand falling into their eyes."

This excessive lightness of the sand, as occasioned by heat, may be easily comprehended by an attention to the common process of preparing alabaster. For, after being finely pounded, it is put into a pot in a dry state, to be more completely desiccated, and literally boils like water, as the air in escaping ascends through the heated mass.—The monsoons, which blow for one half of the year in one direction, and the other half of the year in an opposite one, and the trade winds, which blow all the year round in a direction from east to west, on account of the powerful and constant action of the sun on the earth and air, being known only within the tropics, are never experienced in Judea. But they have *the hot wind*, which, when it continues for any length of time, is destructive of life. Maillet, in speaking of the caravan between Egypt and Mecca, says that they become sickly and exhausted: and it has sometimes been known that, in a caravan of forty or fifty thousand, fifteen hundred have died daily; the greatest part of them stifled at once by the burning air and the dust which this dreadful wind brings along with it in great quantities. So late as A.D. 1813, we have another dreadful account of this hot wind in a letter from Smyrna. The caravan from Mecca to Aleppo consisted of two thousand souls, mer-

chants and travellers from the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, pilgrims returning from performing their devotions at Mecca, and a numerous train of attendants, the whole escorted by four hundred military. The march was in three columns. On the 15th of August they entered the great Arabian desert, in which they journeyed seven days, and were nearly approaching its edge. A few hours more would have placed them beyond danger; when, on the morning of the 23d, just as they had struck their tents, and commenced their march, a wind rose from the north-east, and blew with tremendous violence. They increased the rapidity of their march to escape the threatening danger, when the fatal camseen set in. On a sudden, dense clouds were observed, whose extremity obscured the horizon, and swept the face of the desert. They approached the columns of the caravan, and obscured the line of march. Both men and beasts, struck by a sense of common danger, uttered loud cries. The next moment they fell beneath its pestilential influence. Of two thousand souls composing the caravan, not more than twenty escaped the calamity; and these owed their safety to the swiftness of their dromedaries."^a Such is the dreadful hot wind of the desert; and it was probably this which destroyed so many of Sennacherib's army in one night:^b for it is called a blast in ver. 7, and Isaiah xxxvii. 7; and Jeremiah li. 1, calls it a destroying wind, which the Arabic version renders a hot pestilential wind. There is a more dreadful kind of wind, however, still, than even this, and which is known in the East by the name of *Samoom* or *Samiel*. It is thus described by travellers. After the air has been unusually heated for several days, by passing over the large tracts of burning sand on the south or east of Judea (viz. the

^a Edinb. Weekly Journal for Dec. 22, 1813.

^b 2 Kings xix. 35.

great desert of Arabia, Syria, Diarbekr, and Irak, according to Niebuhr. p. 7,) the sky suddenly loses its usual serenity, and becomes dark, gloomy, and alarming; while the sun assumes a violet colour. When this destructive wind approaches, which it does rapidly, its approach is indicated by a redness in the air; and when so near as to become visible, it resembles a sheet of purple-coloured smoke, about 60 feet in breadth, and 12 feet from the ground: immediately on seeing which, the people prostrate themselves, wrap their faces in their robes, lest they should inhale any portion of it, and remain in that state till it be past, which is commonly after a few minutes. As the principal stream of this heated and highly electrified air always moves in a line a few feet distant from the surface of the earth, this precaution is generally successful; but it also happens that many are destroyed before they have had time to make use of it: and when this is the case, it is truly astonishing to see the change it produces.—If the person be dead, an arm or leg, when smartly shaken, will separate from the body; so rapid is the course of the putrefactive process; but, if life remains, it is commonly restored to its former state by warm covering, and diluting liquors, in order to produce a copious perspiration. Mr. Bruce, in returning from Abyssinia to Egypt, inhaled some of this pestilential air in the desert of Nubia, through his great desire to see it, which made him almost lose his voice, and gave him an asthmatic complaint, of which he did not get quit for two years.

In our mild climate we may complain of heat, but never feel any fatal effect from the sun's rays. It is different, however, in the East, where the *coup du soleil*, or stroke of the sun, is often the cause of sudden death.—The person exposed feels pained, complains of his

head, as the Shunamite's son did,^a becomes giddy—delirious—and dies in a short time, unless removed to the shade, and proper remedies applied. In Judith viii. 2, 3, we find Manasses, her husband, dying of the same complaint, and at the same season of the year, as the Shunamite's son, viz. in the time of barley harvest. It is to the hot wind, and samiel, that the prophet Isaiah alludes, when, in ch. xxxii. 2, he describes Christ as a hiding-place from the wind. The Psalmist adverted to the *coup du soleil*, when he said in Ps. cxxi. 6, "The sun shall not smite thee by day."—And to all the three did Isaiah^b and John^c allude, when, in describing the happiness of the saints, they say, "The sun shall not light on them, nor any heat." Should the camseen, or hot-wind of the desert, be thought inadequate to the destruction of one hundred and eighty-five thousand of Sennacherib's army in one night, here is a more powerful agent: the samiel, like a destroying angel, could easily fill the camp, before the following morning, with that immense number of dead corpses.—There is still another singular appearance in the atmosphere of Judea, and other eastern countries, called by the Arabians *the serab*, and by the French *le mirage*. It consists in the hot sandy plain assuming, to the eye of the traveller, the appearance of water, and reflecting, as from the surface of a smooth lake, the appearance of the objects that are situated beyond it. Dr. Lowth in his Note on Isaiah xxxv. 7, tells us that it occurs in the Koran, ch. xxiv. in the following words; "But as to the unbelievers, their works are like a vapour in a plain, which the thirsty traveller thinketh to be water, until, when he cometh thereto, he findeth it to be nothing." Mr. Sale's note on the quotation is, that "the Arabic word *serab*

^a 2 Kings iv. 19.

^b Is. xlix. 10.

^c Rev. vii. 16.

signifies that false appearance which, in the eastern countries, is often seen in sandy plains about noon, resembling a large lake of water in motion, and is occasioned by the reverberation of the sun-beams; it sometimes tempts," continues he, "the thirsty travellers out of their way, but deceives them when they come near, either going forward (for it always appears at the same distance,) or quite vanishes." This appearance was familiar to the ancients: for Quintus Curtius mentions it in his Life of Alexander the Great, thus:—"The vapour of the summer sun heats the sand so, that the appearance of the plains is no otherwise than that of a great and deep sea."* Dr. Clark, in his Journey to Rosetta, 1801, gives the following account of it: "The sands assumed the appearance of water, and the domes, and turrets, and groves of Rosetta, were seen reflected on the glowing surface of the plain, which appeared like a vast lake, extending itself between the travellers and the city."

When the Hon. Mr. Elphinstone went on a mission from the East India Company to Cabul, in 1808, he tells us, in his introduction,^b that "towards the evening of the 22d Nov. many persons were astonished with the appearance of a long lake, enclosing several little islands, and that, notwithstanding the well-known nature of the country, many were positive that it was a lake: and one of the surveyors took the bearings of it. It was, however, only one of those illusions which the French call *mirage*, and the Persians *sirraub*. I had imagined," continues he, "this phenomenon to be occasioned by a thin vapour (or something resembling a vapour,) which is seen over the ground, in the hot weather, in India,

* Arenas vapor æstivi solis accendit;—camporum non alia quam vasti et profundi æquoris species est.—Lib. vii. cap. 5.

^b Page 16.

but this appearance was entirely different, and, on looking along the ground no vapour whatever could be perceived. The ground was quite level and smooth, composed of dry mud or clay, mixed with particles of shining sand; there were some tufts of grass, and some little bushes of rue, &c., at this spot, which were reflected as in water: and this appearance continued at the ends, when viewed from the middle. I shall not attempt," says he, "to account for this appearance, but shall merely remark, that it seems only to be found in level, smooth, and dry places. The position of the sun, with reference to the spectator, appears to be immaterial. I thought at first, that great heat always accompanied its appearance: but it was afterwards seen in Demaun, when the weather was not hotter than is experienced in England."—Three days after, he adds, that they "saw a most magnificent *mirage*, which looked like an extensive lake, or a very wide river: the water seemed clear and beautiful, and the figures of two gentlemen who rode along it, were reflected as distinctly as in real water." Mr. Macdonal Kinneir, two years after, in his Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire,* after speaking of the sand-wind of the desert, adds, that "the sahrab (literally, the water of the desert,) or watery appearance so common in all deserts, and the moving sands, were seen at the same time, and appeared to be perfectly distinct; the one having a luminous, and the other a cloudy appearance."—This happened in 1810.—To which Lieut. Porringer, in his Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde, in the same year, adds some singular particulars: "I have seen bushes and trees," says he "reflected in it with as much accuracy as though it had been the face of a clear and still lake; and once in the province of Ker-

* Page 223.

man, in Persia, it seemed to rest like a sheet of water on the face of a hill, at the foot of which my road lay, exhibiting the summit, which did not overhang it in the least degree, by a kind of unaccountable refraction.”^a

A philosophical explanation of this phenomenon has been given by several writers, and especially by Monge. It is several times alluded to in the Old Testament. Thus it is to this, rather than to brooks which become dry in summer, that the prophet Jeremiah,^b seems to refer, when, in pouring out his plaint to God for mercies deferred, he says, “Wilt thou be altogether unto me as waters that fail?” And the very word is to be found in Isaiah xxxv. 7, where the passage which is translated “the parched land shall become a pool,” literally signifies “the serab שרב, or illusory lake of the desert, shall become a pool.”

After what has been said of hurricanes, it is needless to observe that *thunder and lightning* are experienced in Judea, especially in their winter: but it may be worth while to inquire whether they ever observed that beautiful phenomenon *the aurora borealis*.—It was not spoken of in Europe till the year 1394, and never observed accurately by philosophers, till Kepler did it in 1607, and still more so above a hundred years after by Dr. Halley, in 1716.—The most common opinion concerning it is, that it is an electric meteor, proceeding from an accumulation of that fluid in the superior and vastly rarified region of the atmosphere: which accumulation is occasioned by the intervention of a non-conducting substance between it and the earth.—Thus, the dry land prevents its accumulation, by being a conductor; and the sea causes its accumulation by being a non-conductor. As the globe of the earth, therefore, is the grand recipient

^a Page 185.

^b Ch. xv. 18.

of the electric fluid, it is prevented from discharging itself when it is over the sea, or facilitated in doing so, by being over the land. It seems, also, to have a considerable effect on the compass, and affords an additional analogy between electricity and magnetism. The question, however, still recurs whether this phenomenon is mentioned in Scripture, or was known to the ancient Greeks and Romans? I am ready to own that no distinct mention is made of it in any of these sources; and that, had it existed, the Jewish prophets or the heathen poets would have seized with avidity such an animated subject of description. The only passages that have any resemblance to it are the two following: In 2 Maccabees v. 1—3, we are told that “about the same time that Antiochus prepared his second voyage into Egypt, it happened, that through all the city (of Jerusalem,) for the space almost of forty days, there were seen horsemen running in the air, in cloth of gold, and armed with lances, like a band of soldiers: and troops of horsemen in array, encountering and running one against another, with shaking of shields, and multitude of pikes, and drawing of swords, and casting of darts, and glittering of golden ornaments, and harness of all sorts.” The other passage is in Josephus’s *History of the War*, vi. 5, where, when mentioning the prodigies that preceded the destruction of Jerusalem, he tells us, that “on the 21st day of Ijar, before sunsetting, chariots and troops of soldiers in their armour, were seen running about among the clouds, and surrounding of cities.” Excepting these two passages, which, perhaps, may be explained on different principles from those of the aurora borealis, I do not recollect any other which seem to bear on the subject. What then, I repeat it, was the cause of the silence of the ancients? for we cannot suppose them defective in observation, or that a new creation had

taken place, and a new law was added to the code of nature? I answer, it may have been owing to two causes: In the first place, the aurora borealis and australis are only seen in those latitudes which are above 40° , either on the north or south sides of the equator; and they are always brighter in proportion as we approach the poles, in order to lessen the darkness of the long nights.—But Jerusalem is in latitude 33° north, Athens in 36° , and Rome in 44° : it is not to be expected then, that it could be seen at either of the two former places, and but faintly at the latter. But there is a second reason which shows that the aurora borealis could not be seen in the enlightened ages of Judea, Greece, and Rome, and, consequently, could not be noticed in their several writings. The aurora borealis is understood to be connected with the line of no-variation of the compass, which is an irregular circle round the earth, and cutting the poles, in which the needle always points directly north. Dr. Halley was the first who gave the world a distinct idea of this subject: for in his map for 1700, he marked the line of no-variation round the globe, as running from the north pole, through North America, by Florida, the Antilles, and the coast of Brazil, towards the south pole, and from thence back to the north pole, through New Holland, the Philippine isles, Japan and Pekin, in China, and Jeniseisk in Siberia.—But this line is not stationary: for, from observations made at London, and recorded in Euler's Letters to a German princess,* it appears, that, in the year 1580, the variation of the needle was $11^{\circ} 15'$ east; in 1622, 6° east; in 1634, $4^{\circ} 5'$ east; in 1657, it was 0° ; in 1672, it was $2^{\circ} 30'$ west; in 1692, 6° west; and in 1761, 18° west. Thus, between the years 1580 and 1761, com-

* Vol. ii. Lett 57.

prehending a period of 181 years, this line had advanced to the westward $29^{\circ} 15'$; so that, were it to proceed at the same rate constantly, it would perambulate the globe in $2222\frac{1}{4}$ years.—But it does not perambulate the globe, for it vibrates like a pendulum, within a given space, and having got the length of 30° west, is now (1818) returning in an easterly direction, towards the continent of Europe. It was formerly said, that, in our northern hemisphere, the aurora borealis is never seen beyond the 40° of north latitude: I may now observe that it never occupies the whole of that space at the same time; but being understood to be connected with the line of no-variation, is only visible to about 30° on each side of it; whilst, therefore, that space of 30° on each side of the line of no-variation passes over the land, the aurora borealis cannot appear, because the land is a conductor; and while it is passing over the sea, it becomes visible, because the sea is a non-conductor, and enables the electric fluid to accumulate. But, in the enlightened ages of Judea, Greece, and Rome, the line of no-variation, with its 30° on either side, was travelling over the continents of Europe and Africa, which were conductors, and therefore prevented the electric fluid from increasing, so as to become visible. It had just approached so near the Atlantic, when the aurora borealis became visible in Britain, as to make the 30° on the east side of it appear above that ocean. It has, since that time, been crossing the Atlantic, at the rate of about $9' 41'' 47'''$ yearly, and is now returning at the same rate.—When it shall, therefore, have regained the land, and begun to perambulate Europe and Africa, as before, the aurora borealis will cease to appear in Britain. So much concerning the phenomena of the Jewish atmosphere in general: let us now attend to the winds in particular.

The winds in Judea were classed, as in other countries, by the four quarters from whence they came; viz. the east, west, north, and south. Hence the general name for them in Scripture is, "the four winds;"^a and, when they are named individually, they are evidently distinguished by their peculiar qualities. Thus the *east wind* is particularly tempestuous and dangerous in the Mediterranean; and to this the Psalmist seems to allude in Ps. xlviii. 7, when he says, "thou breakest the ships of Tarshish with an east wind." The prophet Isaiah also, in chap. xxvii. 8, says, when alluding to this wind, "he stayeth his rough wind in the day of the east wind." Such a storm is well known to the modern mariners by the name of *Levanter*; the *Levant* meaning that country which lies at the east end of the Mediterranean; and what makes it interesting to the Christian scholar is, that this very wind is the *Euroclydon* (*ευροκλυδων*, *Euro-aquilo*) or stormy north-east-wind, which was so fatal to the ship in which Paul and his companions were, when sailing to Rome.^b The east wind is also accounted, both in Judea and Egypt, very hurtful to vegetation, as being the cause of blight:^c because of its cold and drying quality; carrying off the insensible perspiration from the extremities of plants more rapidly than it could be supplied by the general ascent of the sap; and thereby withering them in a short time. The reason of the east wind's being so cold and withering between their seed time and harvest (corresponding with our winter and spring) was that, both in Judea and Egypt, it came over the mountainous tract of the whole continent of Judea and Persia, and the great desert of Diarbekr, Irak, and Arabia, before it reached the Holy Land, by which its

^a Ezek. xxxvii. 9. Dan. vii. 2. xi. 4. Matt. xxiv. 31. ^b Acts xxvii. 14.

^c Gen. xli. 6. Ezek. xvii. 10. xix. 12. Hosea xiii. 15.

heat and moisture were both extracted; and therefore it fixed with avidity on every plant it passed, to supply its deficiency in both of these articles.—But in the summer its leading feature was very different; for it was then sometimes very dry and hot; and it was from that quarter, as well as from the south, that they had the suffocating hot wind and the samiel. Hence Jonah was exceedingly oppressed by it.^a

The *west wind* of Judea naturally came from the Mediterranean, and hence its name in Exod. x. 19, is רוּחַ יָם *Ruh-im*, a wind from the sea. It was for this reason that a cloud from the west betokened a shower;^b and after a drought, in the days of Elijah, a cloud like a man's hand, rising from the sea, was the sign of a hurricane of wind and rain.^c It would appear that thunder and lightning came also in the direction of east and west; for our Saviour alludes to it in Matt. xxiv. 27, when he says, "As the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be."—As for the *north wind*, by blowing from Lebanon and Antilibanus, it was a cold drying wind. Hence Solomon says of it, that it "driveth away rain."^d And Job tells us, that "cold and fair weather are from the north."^e In Eccles. xliii. 17. 20, the northern storm and the whirlwind are described as terrible; and even without the whirlwind, we are told, that "when the cold north wind bloweth, and the water is congealed into ice, it abideth upon every gathering together of water, and clotheth the water as with a breast-plate."—With respect to the *south wind* of Judea, it came from Arabia, and commonly brought heat:^f but it also brought whirlwinds.^g And from that quarter, as

^a Ch. iv. 8.

^b Luke xii. 54.

^c 1 Kings xviii. 44, 45.

^d Prov. xxv. 23.

^e Ch. xxxvii. 9. 22.

^f Job xxxvii. 17. Luke xii. 56.

^g Job i. 19. xxxvii. 9. Is. xxi. 1. Zech. ix. 14.

well as from the east, came the hot winds, and the samiel. It would appear, from our translation, that the spouse thought the north and south winds of advantage to her garden ; for she says in Cant. iv. 16, " Awake, O north wind, and come, thou south ; blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out : " but some render it, " Awake, O north wind, to fan the air, and retire thou destructive south wind : " for if the south wind blew, the excessive heat would have prevented her beloved from visiting his garden, as she wishes in the end of the verse, and would have shut him up in his apartment.* I may remark, however, in general, that the south winds in Judea are moderate or destructive, according to the season. Dr. Russell's account of the winds at Aleppo may either be seen in his *Travels*, or in *Harm. Observ.* vol. i. p. 99 ; and we shall have occasion to notice their prevalence in the different seasons of the year in Judea, when we examine the state of the seasons in that country.

SECT. IV.

The Seasons in Judea.

Jewish divisions of the year ; the same as mentioned in Gen. viii. 22.—1st, Seed time ; former rains described ; activity of the former in sowing after them.—2d, The winter ; its duration ; the season for thunder and lightning ; an eastern winter mild.—3d, The cold.—4th, The harvest ; the latter rains described.—5th, The summer ; its duration, and effects on vegetation.—6th, The heat ; its duration. Jews seldom went abroad at this season between eleven o'clock and three ; retired to rest. Some general signs as to the weather in Judea.

IN describing the weather of Judea, it is most natural to begin at the autumnal equinox, which was the beginning of their civil year, and the time when the ope-

* *Harm. Ob.* vol. i. p. 65.

rations of the seasons commenced. Accordingly their year is thus described by one of their own writers. "Half Tizri, all Marchesvan, and half Chisleu, is זרע *zero*, or seed-time. Half Chisleu, all Thebeth, and half Shebat, is חרף *herep*, or winter. Half Shebat, all Adar, and half Nisan, is קור *kur*, the cold. Half Nisan, all Ijar, and half Sivan, is קצור *ketsur*, or harvest. Half Sivan, all Thamuz, and half Ab, is קייץ *hiits*, or summer. And half Ab, all Elul, and half Tizri, is חום *hum*, or the great heat."^a It is somewhat remarkable, that the promise of God to Noah after the flood, is expressed in the very words in the original and our translation, which are here used by the Jewish writer.^b "While the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease." But let us attend to each of these divisions in their order.

In the *first* division, which was that of זרע *zero*, or *seed-time*, and which comprehended half Tizri, all Marchesvan, and half Chisleu, or from the beginning of October till the end of November, the first thing concerning the weather is what is usually known by *the former rains*. The rabbins deliver that the former rains fell in the month Marchesvan, which corresponds with the last fortnight of October, and the first fortnight of November.^c And with this the accounts of modern travellers agree. For an eye-witness, mentioned by Harmer,^d says, that on the 2d of November, N. S., he found some rain between Joppa and Rama; and that, on the 4th of that month he was nine hours and a half in the rain, which fell, not constantly, but in heavy showers; that the day after his arrival at Jerusalem (Nov. 5) he was prevented

^a Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. John iv. 35.

^b Gen. viii. 22.

^c Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. Luke iv. 25.

^d Ch. i. ob. 2. Clark's edit.

from going out by the rain; and that it continued unsettled weather until the 19th of November, when he left that city: but that it would have been deemed very good weather in Britain, as the rain did not fall in large quantities, or without interruption, through the day. Dr. Shaw is, therefore, not correct in saying,^a that the first rains in Judea usually fall about the beginning of November, O. S. meaning the 12th of November, N. S.; but he was no eye-witness, as he himself acknowledges, and must, therefore, yield to the evidence which Harmer produces. It is, indeed, probable, that they begin to fall still earlier in Judea; for Mr. Harmer's eye-witness found the peasants ploughing up their stubbles for wheat, as he went between Joppa and Jerusalem, and also through the vale of Esdraelon: Now, according to Dr. Shaw,^b the Arabs do not begin to break up the ground to sow wheat and beans till after the falling of the first rains. Nay, Rauwolff^c says, that on the 13th September, O. S., in the year 1575, equal to the 25th September, N. S., he found the *hemerocallis* near Joppa, which Dr. Russell describes as a plant that never appears till after the first fall of the autumnal rains. And the author of the History of the Revolt of Ali Bey, told Mr. Harmer, that when he was at Joppa, they began to fall about the 7th of September, O. S., equal to the 19th, N. S., or about the equinox. From consulting Dr. Russell's Aleppo, p. 14. 66. 155, it appears that the first rains fall at Aleppo about the same time that they fall in Judea; for, according to him, they usually begin between the 15th and 25th September, O. S., or the 27th September and 7th October, N. S.; but they are rather very heavy showers than continued rains, which cool and freshen the air; and about twenty or thirty

^a Page 335.^b Page 137.^c Ray's Coll. of Trav. p. 228.

days after, or the 17th and 27th of October, are the second rains; between which the weather is temperate, serene, and extremely delightful; but after that it becomes variable. We are not to confound these second rains, however, with the latter rains of scripture, which do not fall till some months after, and will be noticed by and by. Dr. Shaw confirms Dr. Russell's account of these former rains; for he says, that after the two or three first days of rain, which is commonly very heavy, there is usually a week, a fortnight, or more, of good weather, in which interval they begin to plough and sow. From the above accounts, then, of the former rains, it appears, that after the autumnal equinox, sometimes a few days sooner or later, according to circumstances, the first fruits of these rains descend in heavy showers for two or three days; that the weather then clears up for twenty or thirty days; after which the real former rains begin: so that they really fall in the month Marchesvan, as the Jewish account formerly given stated, or in the last fortnight of October, and the first fortnight of November. But we are not to suppose that they ceased then; for they continue during the winter months in Judea, as the snow does in Britain. The meaning, therefore, is, that they were most severe during that time, to drench the parched earth with rain, and that they continued to water it occasionally afterwards. The following description of a Jewish dearth of this indispensable element of water, will show the justice of the foregoing remarks.* "The word of the Lord that came to Jeremiah concerning the dearth. Judah mourneth, and the gates thereof (or the people that met at the gates as the places of public resort) languish; they are black unto the ground (with thirst,) and the cry of Je-

* Jer. xiv. 1—6.

rusalem has gone up. And their nobles have sent their little ones to the waters (or running streams:) they came to the pits (reservoirs, or tanks, which used to be filled by the rain,) and found no water: they returned with their vessels empty; they were ashamed and confounded, and covered their heads. Because the ground is chapt, for there was no rain in the earth, the ploughmen were ashamed; they covered their heads. Yea, the hinds also calved in the field, and forsook their offspring; because there was no grass. And the wild asses did stand in the high places; they snuffed up the wind like dragons; their eyes did fail, because there was no grass." From these verses it appears that the delay of the former rains was accounted a serious evil both by man and beast. How exceedingly appropriate then is the Jewish appellation for rain, when they call it emphatically "the river of God!" No sooner did it appear than all was in motion, and the words of Isaiah were completely verified: "Blessed are ye that sow beside all waters, that send forth thither the feet of the ox and the ass." In considering, however, the former rain now, and the latter rain in spring, which we shall describe by and by, we are not to suppose that they are confined to Judea; for while the great south-west monsoon, as it is called, deluges the east, from Africa to the Malay peninsula, during the summer months, or from the beginning of June to September, according to circumstances, there is a rain that falls in winter, and extends over all the countries west of the Indus, as far as the Hellespont, which assumes the form of rain or snow, according to the temperature of the place, and is of much greater importance to husbandry than the summer monsoon. Now, it is this winter rain which affects Judea; and the

former and latter rains are those beginnings and endings of it, which, being heavier than the rains in the intervening months, were not only more noticed, but really more beneficial to the crops, from the particular seasons at which they fell.^a This extended view of the subject enables us to account for the knowledge which Job had of these rains, although residing in Arabia. He lay in the line of them, and therefore, in describing the deference which was paid to his opinion in the days of his prosperity, he said,^b “ They waited for me as for the rain, and they opened their mouth wide as for the latter rain.”

But we are now come to the second division of the Jewish year, or *חֶרֶף* *herēf*, literally meaning the stripping season, but translated, in Gen. viii. 22, *the winter*. This comprehended half Chisleu, all Thebeth, and half Shebat, or from the beginning of December till the end of January. Harmer, by a long deduction of particulars, has shown that the seasons at Aleppo are nearly the same as those in Judea; and, accordingly, I may observe, that the winter at Aleppo is nearly of the same duration as that in Judea, for it begins the 12th December, and lasts forty days, ending the 20th January, and is called the Murbania. In the Holy Land the lightning and thunder are almost always in winter. During the winter, also, although the rains are not so frequent as in Europe, yet, after they begin to fall, they pour down for three or four days and nights together as vehemently as if they would drown the country,^c being indeed necessary to vegetation, and hence commended, Amos iv. 7, 8. The wind that usually brings rain in winter is the north-east. And the easterly winds generally prevail during

^a See a good account of both these rainy seasons in Elphinstone's account of the Kingdom of Cabul, Book i. chap. v.

^b Chap. xxix. 23.

^c *Gesta Dei per Francos*, vol. i. p. 1097, 1098.

the winter months till February, when they change to the west, and continue there till May; after which seldom any more rain falls till autumn, when the winds become north-easterly again.^a No description of an eastern winter can be given in fewer words, or in more appropriate language, than that in Eccl. xii. 2, where Solomon describes the winter of life in eastern imagery. "The sun, and the light, and the moon, and the stars, are darkened, and the clouds return after the rain." The joys of life assume a less interesting appearance than they once did, and the infirmities of age follow each other in quick succession, like the clouds of an eastern winter, which, instead of dispersing as in Britain to produce good weather, return to discharge new torrents. Indeed, the months of November, December, January, and February, are, in Syria, the most boisterous months in the year.^b And Niebuhr^c tells us, that "the Arabs call the rainy season, which, at Moskat, and the eastern mountains of Arabia, lasts from the 21st November till the 18th February, by the name of *scitte*," almost the very word which is used for "winter" in Cant. ii. 11. Harmer mentions also great rains at Christmas, and says that frosty weather is then common, but never severe or lasting.^d Yet, although these months be boisterous when compared with the rest of the year, they are far from being intemperate when compared with more northerly latitudes. The trees indeed begin to shed their leaves before the middle of November, and hence the reason of this division of the year being called *הררפ herēp*, or "the stripping season." But during the whole of the winter at Aleppo, or from the 12th December till the 20th January, the weather

^a Russell's Aleppo, p. 282.

^b Russell's Aleppo, p. 148, 149, 156, 157.

^c Descript. de l'Arabie, p. 4.

^d Ob. ch. 1. ob. 2. Clarke's edit.

is so mild that the narcissus flowers all the time, and hyacinths and violets, at the latest, appear before it is quite over.^a They begin fires in their houses for warming themselves in the day, says Dr. Russell, about the end of November. Accordingly, Jeremiah tells us, ch. xxxvi. 22, that Jehoiakim, king of Judah, "sat in the winter-house in the ninth month (Chisleu, corresponding with the latter end of November and beginning of December,) and there was a fire on the hearth burning before him." And D'Herbelot, in his *Bibliothèque Orientale*,^b says, that they generally leave them off through the day at the end of February, but they are occasionally used in rainy weather during the day till April, and even occasionally during the night till May; hence, when our Lord was tried in March, the servants are said to have had a fire to warm themselves.^c I ought to remark, however, as an additional cause for this use of fires, that although when the sun shines and the air is calm, the weather is mild, yet the air is very piercing during the night, especially if it be winter: hence Job complains of the wicked, that "they cause the naked to lodge without clothing, and that they have no covering from the cold; that they are wet with the showers of the mountains, and embrace the rock for want of a shelter."^d And David, when describing the Divine Majesty, says, that "he giveth snow like wool; he scattereth the hoar frost like ashes; he casteth forth his ice like morsels; who can stand before his cold?"^e By persons in warm latitudes such sudden transitions from heat to cold are severely felt, and in December and January they have sometimes been fatal.^f Yet continued frosts are seldom known in Judea, for Dr. Russell tells

^a Harm. Ob. ch. l. ob. 16. Clarke. ^b Art. Schabath. ^c John xviii. 18.

^d Ch. xxiv. 7, 8.

^e Ps. cxlvii. 16, 17.

^f Harm. ch. l. ob. 11.

us, that in all the thirteen years he resided at Aleppo (the temperature of which resembles Judea,) the ice could never above three times carry a man; and snow, excepting in three of these years, never lay above a day.

The third division of the Jewish year was called קור *kur*, or קר *ker*, meaning *the cold*; comprehending half Shebat, all Adar, and half Nisan, or from the beginning of February till the end of March; and the only reason I can assign for the name is, that about the beginning of February there are some intense colds; for the beginning of that month, O. S. Dr. Shaw tells us, is the usual time at Jerusalem for the falling of snow,* as it is also in Egypt, where the frosts of winter are chiefly between the 7th and 14th of that month.^b Some indeed would persuade us that there is no winter in Egypt, but their meaning is, that it seldom rains, hails, thunders, or has violent storms of wind, which form an eastern winter, for Maillet saw rain several times.^c Pitts says, that at Cairo it rained sometimes very heavily.^d And Pococke assures us that in Upper Egypt it hailed and rained almost a whole morning in February, and very hard the night following, and the same thing some days after. The same winds and rains continue to be experienced in Judea, as in December and January; but the rains are chiefly in the night; and sometimes also lightning and thunder while the weather is dark and gloomy, as in the winter months, and dark clouds soon return to pour down a fresh deluge after a great deal of rain had descended before; these clouds not dispersing after rain like those which appeared after the first fall of the former rains.^e Yet these remarks are chiefly peculiar to the beginning of February, for as it advances, the fields,

* Page 335. ^b Egmont & Heyman, vol. ii. p. 214, 215. ^c Lett. i. p. 19.

^d Page 96. ^e Russell's Aleppo, p. 14. 66. 155.

which were pretty green before, become now, by the springing up of the latter grain, entirely covered with pleasing verdure; and though the trees continue in a leafless state till the end of the month, or beginning of March, yet the almond, when latest, being in blossom before the middle of February, and quickly succeeded by the apricot, peach, &c. give the gardens at least a delightful appearance, and the spring in general becomes gradually very pleasant.^a Maundrell found rain followed by lightning and thunder in March; and in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*,^b we are told that at Jerusalem trees were just become green in the same month.

The fourth division of the Jewish year was called קצור *hetsur*, or the *harvest*, comprehending half Nisan, all Ijar, and half Sivan; or, from the beginning of April till the end of May. According to the prophet Joel ii. 23, and the Rabbins, the *latter rains* fell in the month Nisan, or in the last fortnight of March and first fortnight of April;^c but Dr. Shaw places them sometimes in the beginning and sometimes towards the end of April, O.S.;^d consequently between the 12th of April and the 12th of May, N.S. They are called harvest rains, as the word signifies, Deut. xi. 14, because they help to fill and ripen the corn for cutting. Thus, the former rains fell after the autumnal equinox, at their seed time, to quicken the grain; and the latter rains fall after the vernal equinox to ensure a plentiful crop. It is owing to these latter rains that Jordan in the first month^e annually overflows its banks at the season of barley harvest;^f and the reason why it overflows them only once in the year is, that when the former rains fell the ground was so parched by the summer's drought that they scarcely quenched its thirst,

^a Russell's *Alleppo*, p. 14. 66. 155.

^b Page 309.

^c Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. Luke iv. 25.

^d Page 335, 2d edit.

^e 1 Chron. xii. 15.

^f Josh. iii. 15. Eccles. xxiv. 26.

but having been saturated at times with plentiful showers during the winter, those surplus portions of the latter rain which fall in spring naturally empty themselves into that river, and carry it along in full flood. When the latter rains are past, the weather of Judea is variable till May, by cold winds from Libanus,^a from the end of which till the middle of September there are almost no showers, and scarcely a cloud. The verdure of spring fades before the middle of May, and by the end of it all becomes parched and barren.^b Doubdan, in returning from Cana to Nazareth on the 8th of May, found the heat so great that he could hardly breathe;^c and it is to this that Isaiah^d seems to allude when he says, "The Lord said unto me, I will take my rest, and I will consider in my dwelling-place, like a clear heat upon herbs, and like a cloud of dew in the heat of harvest." In ch. xxv. 4, 5, he hath the same kind of language to describe God's care of the poor and the needy: "He is a shadow from the heat. He will bring down the noise of strangers as the heat in a dry place, even the heat with the shadow of a cloud." I might add, that it is to the former part of this division of the Jewish year that the following description of spring, given by Solomon, evidently refers; for the time of the singing of birds, mentioned in it, and especially the singing of the nightingale, begins at Jordan, according to Thevenot, about the 16th of April, but at Aleppo not till the end of April. Cant. ii. 11. 13. "The winter is past, the rain is over and gone; the flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come; and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land. The fig-tree putteth forth his green figs, and the vines with the tender grape give a good smell." Indeed, it is impossible to describe the

^a De la Valle, p. 121, 122. ^b Russell. ^c Page 513. ^d Ch. xviii. 4.

rich fragrance of an eastern climate when the spring and summer are in bloom, and before the excessive heat comes on. The air is filled with the odours of plants, and flowers, and trees, which the breeze wafts about in most delicious freshness. Mr. Reland observes on Josephus's *Antiquities*, vi. 5, and proves elsewhere in his note on iii. 1, that although thunder and lightning with us happen usually in summer, yet in Palestine and Syria they are chiefly confined, as we have already said, to winter. This consideration, therefore, will give beauty and force to the words of Samuel in 1 Sam. xii. 17, 18, "Is it not wheat harvest to-day? I will call unto the Lord, and he shall send thunder and rain, that ye may perceive and see that your wickedness is great which ye have done in the sight of the Lord in asking you a king. So Samuel called unto the Lord, and the Lord sent thunder and rain that day; and all the people greatly feared the Lord and Samuel." Had thunder and rain been common in harvest, the miracle would have consisted in their coming at the invocation of Samuel, but since they very seldom appeared at that season, it made the surprise of the Israelites the greater.

The fifth division of the Jewish year was called קיץ *kiits*, or *summer*, and comprehended half Sivan, all Thamuz, and half Ab; or from the beginning of June till the end of July. During this season the winds are westerly, for it will be recollected that as the easterly winds were said to prevail from the autumnal equinox till February, so at that time they changed to the west, and continue westerly till the autumnal equinox again. In Egypt, during summer, a fresh north wind blows every day, except when they are visited with the suffocating south; and the sea coast of Judea has a wind of the same kind nearly in the daily sea breeze, but the interior is fanned chiefly by the west wind, unless when

the hot wind of the desert comes either from the south or east. It will easily be thought that the sun's rays are in June and July very intense, and that the face of nature must be much parched; so much so, that the streams which in winter rushed with the impetuosity of torrents, then dwindle into mere brooks, or become entirely dry; a circumstance that is beautifully alluded to in Job vi. 15—18. Thunder is exceedingly uncommon in summer,^a and it seldom, if ever rains.^b But when it does rain it is commonly preceded by a whirlwind, with clouds of dust, and is, as Ezekiel^c expresses it, "with a stormy whirlwind, and an overflowing shower, or great hail." Hence Dr. Russell confirms Scripture, when he says, that at Aleppo, the climate of which is similar to Judea, they have severe thunder showers about the beginning of July, O. S. The above remarks, however, about the intense heat, are chiefly applicable to the lower grounds, for even in the hottest months the inhabitants of Libanus and Antilibanus feel such cold at times during the night as to make furs a very necessary part of dress.

The last division of the Jewish year is חום *hum*, or *the heat*, comprehending half Ab, all Elul, and half Tizri, or from the beginning of August till the end of September. During this period the air becomes still more heated, and the face of nature more withered; those places only being verdant which are near rivulets of water. This withered aspect is what the Psalmist alludes to in Ps. xxxii. 4, when he says that "his moisture is turned into the drought of summer." During this period the sky through the day is clear and cloudless after the dews are up; and hence the continued miracle of a pillar of cloud, in a cloudless sky, accompanying the Is-

^a Volney, Voy. tom. i. p. 321.

^b Joseph. War, iii. 7.

^c Chap. xiii. 11, 13.

raelites for forty years, to their own comfort, and the amazement, no doubt, of the neighbouring nations. But in the night a plentiful dew descends, which either wets the earth like a shower, or appears as hoar frost, according to circumstances, and which, lying on the leaves of plants, serves to keep them alive in this season of heat; but no sooner does the sun appear, than they ascend as smoke from an oven, and become invisible. It was this difference of day and night to which Jacob alluded when he said to Laban,* “In the day the drought consumed me, and the frost by night.” To this also Jeremiah refers, ch. xxxvi. 30, where he says of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, that “his dead body should be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost.” And to this Baruch alludes, ch. ii. 24, 25, when he complains that the above words of the prophet were fulfilled on the bodies of their kings and their fathers, which had been cast out to the heat of the day, and to the frost of the night. And it is to the sudden disappearance of the dew that God compares the goodness of Ephraim and Judah in Hosea vi. 4: “It was like the morning cloud, and the early dew which passed quickly away.”—The heat of the day is so great at noon in summer^b that delicate people, or persons of rank, frequently retire to rest. Niebuhr tells us, that in Arabia it is so hot in July and August, that, except in cases of necessity, nobody goes out from eleven in the morning till three in the afternoon; and that the Arabs seldom work during that time, but employ it in sleeping in apartments, into which the air is let from above. At such seasons a mist and dew coming after the heat is exceedingly refreshing, and as such is noticed in Ecclus. xliii. 22. Dr. Russell also informs us that they rise very

* Gen. xxxi. 40.

^b Ecclus. xliii. 3. 21.

early, dine soon, and repose like Eglon^a and Ishbosheth,^b from one or two till four in the afternoon. If we suppose this to be the season to which the Psalmist alludes in Ps. iv. 4, rather than to the season of the night, by which it is usually explained, it will give his words more beauty and force: "Commune with your own heart on your bed, and be still:"—take advantage of the hours which the climate affords for serious meditation. The same idea seems to be contained in Ps. lxxiii. 6, where their resting in the heat of the day, and their rest in the night, seem both alluded to: "I remember thee on my bed, and meditate on thee in the night watches." In September, Dr. Russell states, that scarcely a night passes at Aleppo without much lightning in the north-west quarter of the heavens, but unattended with thunder; and when it appears in the west or south-west, it is a sure sign of rain, either preceded or followed by thunder.^c This we may also expect in Judea before the equinox, as the atmosphere must then be charged with electricity.

We have, unfortunately, few meteorological observations, or prognostications as to the weather of Judea, from the paucity of ancient records, and the danger of present travelling; but the following hints should not be overlooked. A red sky in the evening betokened fair weather; and when the sky was red and lowering in the morning, they expected foul weather that day.^d When a cloud arose from the west or Mediterranean, they expected a shower; and when the south wind blew, they said, There will be heat.^e Such are the observations which we have been able to collect on the weather of Judea, and the difference of temperature at different

^a Judg. iii. 24.

^b 2 Sam. iv. 5.

^c Aleppo, vol. ii. p. 385.

^d Matt. xvi. 2, 3.

^e Luke xii. 54, 55.

seasons of the year; yet they are far from being generally applicable, since heat is regulated not merely by latitude, but by its proximity to, or remoteness from, the sea; by the nature of the soil, and the degree of elevation. Thus, the air is much colder in the mountainous parts than on the coast;^a and Shaphet, in Galilee, from its height of situation, is so fresh and cool, that the heats of summer are scarcely felt; while about Jericho, in the neighbourhood of Jordan, it is extremely troublesome and even fatal.^b

SECT. V.

Agriculture of Judea.

Time of ploughing; form of their plough; the ox goad; their manner of sowing; diseases of grain; blasting or blight; mildew; hoar frost; thunder showers; caterpillar; locusts; harvest in Judea. The barley harvest; wheat harvest; manner of reaping by pulling up; cutting with a sickle; harvest a season of joy; sheaves, but no shocks in Judea; threshing the grain by a staff; flail; feet of cattle; the drag; the wain with iron wheels or teeth: winnowing by the shovel and fan; threshing floors in airy situations; straw used as fodder; grain preserved in earthen jars, or heaps in the fields, or subterraneous repositories: these last sometimes sealed. Grinding corn by the hand-mill; the work of women, at day-break; corn ground in a mill wrought by asses.

WE have no allusions in Scripture as to the connexion between astronomy and agriculture; but it is well known that the Greeks and Romans were guided in their agricultural operations by the rising and setting of certain stars; and it is not unlikely that the Jews were so likewise, although they are not particularly mentioned. Let us, then, before we collect and compare the modern practice in the East with that of Scripture, begin with the hints that Virgil has given us in his *Georgics*, and more especially that Hesiod has left in

^a Beland, *Palect.* p. 387.

^b Egmont and Heyman, vol. ii. p. 47.

his excellent treatise entitled, *Ἐργον καὶ Ἡμερῶν*, and of which the Georgics are an evident imitation. In Italy, Virgil directs his countrymen to give a light furrow to poor land at the rising of Arcturus, or about the middle of September, lest the scanty moisture should forsake the sandy soil if they ploughed it sooner.^a Between the time that the sun entered Libra, which was at the autumnal equinox and the winter solstice, or the 22d of December, was the season for sowing barley, flax, and the poppy.^b When the dog-star had set, and Taurus had opened the year, they sowed beans, trefoil, and millet; and wheat and other strong bearded grain, when the Pleiades were set in the morning, and the Gnosian star of Ariadne's crown. Some, indeed, began before the setting of Maia, one of the Pleiades, but they were mocked with empty ears: and vetches, kidney-beans, and Egyptian lentils, were planted, when Boötes set.^c Besides which particular directions, he tells us in general, that the Pleiades, Hyades, and the bright star of Lycaon, in the Ursa Major, were well known to husbandmen and mariners;^d that the stars of Arcturus, the days of the kids, and the shining dragon, were also observed by the same classes of men;^e and that the rainy kids arising from the west were the cause of the storm of rain.^f Such are the hints that are given us by the Roman agriculturalist, who died 19 years before Christ. Let us next attend to the observations of Hesiod, who is thought to have been contemporary with Homer, and of course to have flourished 907 years before Christ; carrying us back to the times of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, and Ahab king of Israel.

He advises the Greeks to begin the harvest at the

^a Georg. i. 66—70. iii. 304.

^c Georg. i. 215—230.

^e Georg. i. 204.

^b Georg. i. 208—212.

^d Georg. i. 138.

^f Æneid ix. 668.

rising of the Pleiades, and ploughing when they set; which constellation, after lying concealed 40 days and 40 nights, appears again when the sickle is sharpened.^a They cut their wood in autumn, when the dog-star appeared.^b The voice of the crane, on her annual return, was the signal for ploughing, and showed the time of rainy winter.^c The appearance of the cuckoo was rather late for sowing; but, if it rained moderately for three days, they had as good a crop as those who sowed earlier.^d When the winter had finished, sixty days after the equinox, Arcturus, leaving the ocean, first appeared in the evening, and was the signal for cutting their vines.^e And when the tortoise lifted its claws from the earth, as if flying the Pleiades, the vines were no more to be dug, but the hooks sharpened for the harvest.^f When the thistle was in flower, and the grasshopper chirped under the trees, the goats were accounted fattest, and the vines were best, for then Sirius ruled.^g When the force of Orion was first felt, they trod out their grain in a place exposed to the wind, and then laid it up in vessels.^h When Orion and Sirius came to the middle of the heavens, and Aurora, with her rosy fingers, beheld Arcturus, they plucked their grapes, laid them on the ground for ten days and nights, and then drew off the juice into vessels.ⁱ After the Pleiades, Hyades, and strength of Orion was set, then was the season for ploughing.^k It appears from Homer, however,¹ and Madame Dacier's note upon it, that the Grecians did not plough in the manner now in use; for they first broke up the ground with oxen, and then ploughed it more lightly with mules. And, when they

^a Hesiod, ii. 1—5.

^d Hesiod, ii. 104.

^e Hesiod, ii. 200.

^k Hesiod, ii. 232.

^b Hesiod, ii. 35.

^c Hesiod, ii. 184.

^h Hesiod, ii. 215.

¹ Iliad x. 351.

^c Hesiod, ii. 66.

^f Hesiod, ii. 189.

ⁱ Hesiod, ii. 227.

employed two ploughs in a field, they measured the space they could plough in a day, and set their ploughs at the two sides of that space, when they proceeded to plough towards each other. This intermediate space was constantly fixed, but less in proportion for two ploughs of oxen than for two of mules: because oxen were slower, and employed more in a field that had not been yet turned up; whereas mules were naturally swifter, and made greater speed on ground that had already got the first furrow. Pope's note on the above is, that this manner of measuring a space of ground seems to have been customary in those times, from that passage in 1 Sam. xiv. 14, where "Jonathan and his armour-bearer slew twenty men, within as it were an half acre of land, which a yoke of oxen might plough." And I may add, that the same thing is alluded to in the Odyssey viii. 124, where Homer is describing the space of ground at the games given by Alcinous, king of Phæacia, in honour of Ulysses, in which Clytonius outstripped his rivals at the race "as far as the hinds allow between the mule and ox from plough to plough." Such are the notices which these authors give us of ancient agriculture; but they are not such good interpreters of Scripture as the present usages of the East: we shall therefore quit them, to collect what can be got by comparing the accounts of Eastern travellers, beginning,

1st, With *the times of ploughing and sowing*.—It hath been observed, when treating of the weather of the Holy Land, that, when the former rains begin to fall, there are commonly two or three days of heavy rain, after which the weather clears up for twenty or thirty days; and that then the rains return, and continue at times during the winter. I may now notice, that the natives never think of ploughing their fields till these rains begin, for the ground is so parched with

the long continued drought of summer, that to sow before rain would be throwing away the seed. During the twenty or thirty days, therefore, above-mentioned, they are exceedingly busy in ploughing and sowing. Ploughing at Aleppo, which Mr. Harmer considers as contemporary with ploughing at Judea, begins about the end of September (although, in Ray's Collection of Travels, p. 319, we hear of travellers who saw the fields about Rama ploughed in the middle of September,) and they sow their earliest wheat about the middle of October; but as the frosts are never so severe as to prevent ploughing through the winter, they continue to sow all sorts of grain till the end of January, and barley sometimes after the middle of February, O. S. No harrows are used; but the ground, after being ploughed once, is sown, and then ploughed a second time. If the soil be sandy, they even sow without ploughing, and then plough down the seed, which certainly is in favour of the grain in such a latitude. It obtains moisture at the bottom of the furrow, which it would not always find at the top, and takes a firmer hold of the soil. Their plough is so light, that a man of moderate strength can carry it in his hand. A little cow, or at most two, and sometimes only an ass (as in Isaiah's time, ch. xxxii. 20,) is sufficient to draw it; and one man both holds the plough and drives the animal with so much ease, that he generally smokes his pipe at the same time.* Whilst Hasselquist was at Bethlehem, 19th of April, 1751, he saw a plough with a singular but useful appendage. "While my companions," says he, "were saying their prayers at the place where the angel appeared to the shepherds, I had an opportunity of viewing a kind of plough, here used to turn up the

* Russell's Aleppo, vol. i. p. 73, &c.

earth, on which I saw something which I had never seen in any other place: viz. they fix a reed along the plough handle to the share, and at the upper end of the reed is fixed a leather funnel. The workman, by this invention, waters the earth at the same time he is ploughing it. Under his left arm comes a pipe from a leathern bag, filled with water, which hangs on his shoulders: out of this he lets the water run into the funnel, which through the reed waters the ground as he is ploughing; a compendious method of watering the earth in dry weather.”^a The instrument used for urging the animal forward in these Eastern ploughs is a goad, several of which Maundrell tells us he measured, and found them about eight feet long, and six inches in circumference at the thickest end. They were armed at the lesser end with a sharp point for driving the animal, and at the greater was a small spade or paddle of iron for removing any clay that might adhere to the plough while working.^b It was no wonder, then, that Shamgar, one of the judges of Israel, slew six hundred Philistines with one of them.^c In the fertile plain of Esdraelon, the ploughing was never above six inches deep, with no manure. And near Jerusalem they ploughed with a guard attending, to prevent their being robbed by the Arabs of the grain they were intending to sow.^d—Their manner of sowing is commonly with the hand; but the Gemara tells us, that in ancient times they used also a cart full of holes, which they conveyed along the field. With the above account of the times of sowing agrees the following extract from Lightfoot, who tells us, from the Jewish writings, that they sowed the wheat and spelt anciently in Tizri, Marchesvan, and Chisleu, or

^a Travels, p. 146.

^b Travels, April 15.

^c Judg. iii. 31.

^d Harmer. ch. i. ob. 2. Clarke's edit.

from the autumnal equinox till the middle of December ; and barley from the middle of Marchesvan^a even to Shebat and Adar, or from the beginning of November to the middle of March : adding, that the gloss upon these passages is, “that the late seed, or that which is hid deep, and lieth long in the earth, as the wheat and spelt, which do not soon ripen, are sown in Tizri, Marchesvan, and Chisleu ; but that the early seed, or the barley, which ripens soon, is sown in Shebat and Adar.”^b

An acquaintance with these seasons of sowing, and the manner in which the eastern people treat their crops, is exceedingly useful to an interpreter of Scripture, where they are frequently alluded to. Thus in Is. xxviii. 24, 25, the sagacity of the husbandman is praised for improving the season of labour after the autumnal rains have begun to fall. “Doth the ploughman plough all day to sow ? Doth he open and break the clods of the ground (that had been parched with the summer’s drought ?) When he hath made plain the face thereof (by the plough,) doth he not cast abroad the fitches (dill,) and scatter the cummin, and cast in the principal wheat, and the appointed barley (or rather the millet and the barley,) and the rye (or rather corn of Damascus,) in their place ?” And we have twice mention of the necessity of water to the growth of rice, rye, corn of Damascus, and other grains of the same kind ; which Dr. Clarke indeed notices in his Travels, vol. iii. p. 30, when he says, “The seed is commonly cast upon the water, a practice twice alluded to in sacred Scripture. Balaam prophesied of Israel, that his seed should be in many waters.”^c And, in the directions given for charity by the son of David, it is written,^d “Cast thy seed upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days.”

^a Heb. and Talm. Exer. Matt. xii. 1. ^b Heb. and Talm. Exer. on John iv. 39.

^c Numb. xxiv. 7.

^d Eccl. xi. A.

In Exodus ix. 31, 32, we have some additional particulars of some of the Jewish crops : for, when Moses inflicted the plague of thunder and hail on the Egyptians, which appears to have been about a week before the passover, or the 27th of March, since the Passover, was about the 4th of April, the flax and the barley were smitten, because the barley was in the ear, and the flax was bolled; but the wheat and rye were not smitten, because they were not grown up : that is, they were not so far advanced as that their stems were broken down by the hail, or their grain blasted by the fire.

2. *Diseases of grain.*—In every country there are certain diseases to which grain, while growing, is liable. In the land of Judea an excess of rain is not commonly the cause of the failure of crops ; but they often suffer by too much drought. This is the cause of that blasting or blight which is mentioned in Scripture. The dry east wind, and the hot wind of the desert, carry off the moisture from the surface of the plants more rapidly than it can be supplied ; so that, according to its violence or duration, the grain is either injured only or destroyed. The mildew is also hurtful to these eastern crops. It is a viscous substance, which exudes from the pores of the leaves, and becomes still more so by the evaporation of the more fluid parts by the sun, and is evidently occasioned by the violent heat of the climate, which renders those juices volatile that would have continued fixed in the plant, and which, by forcing themselves out, remain on the surface like a slimy substance, without the power of being carried off. The evil it does is two-fold. In the first place, it weakens the plant when it is still tender, by converting that into perspirable matter which was intended for nourishment ; and in the second place, by remaining on the surface in its glutinous state, it shuts up the pores, prevents the in-

sensible perspiration from going on, and causes a species of fever in the internal structure of the plant, which continues to be hurtful till it is either washed off by the rains, or rendered gradually soluble by the dews.—A third accident to which the eastern crops are liable is hoar-frost, which falls upon them in the night, and destroys their fibres. Thunder showers also in the East are frequently hurtful to standing corn: for the cold which thunder produces converts the falling vapours into hail, and often into rugged masses of ice, which destroy all on which they fall.—The caterpillar is another enemy to the standing corn: one species of which lodges in the top of the plant, cankering the juices, and starving the grain; while another, like those called *Sim* in Persia, which are a species of white lice, fix upon the stalk and root, and either corrupt it, or gnaw it asunder. The most destructive enemies, however, were the locusts, which fortunately appeared but seldom. Their numbers were incredible, and their ravages astonishing. In the emphatical words of Joel,^a “Before them is the garden of the Lord, and behind them a barren wilderness.”

3. *Harvest*.—The beginning of barley harvest in Judea is about the middle of the month Nisan, or the beginning of our April:^b so that, if we count back four months, we shall come to the middle of Chisleu, or beginning of December, at which time we formerly saw they sowed barley, as the time when our Saviour conversed with the woman of Samaria; and, in this point of view, his words to his disciples on that occasion are very expressive.^c “Say ye not, that there are yet four months, and then cometh harvest; behold, I say unto you, Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields (covered

^a Ch. ii. 3. ^b Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. John iv. 35. ^c John iv. 35.

with people coming from Samaria,) for they are white already to harvest (or ripe for becoming converts to me as the promised Messiah.)”^a—But although the barley harvest commenced about the beginning of April, as we have just now seen, it was a considerable time before it, and the wheat harvest, which succeeded it,^b were over: for Hasselquist saw barley ripe between Acra and Nazareth, on the 2d of May, N. S.; and wheat that appeared to be three weeks later.^c And in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 173, we are told, that when the Christian army went to Jerusalem on the 6th of June, the harvest was almost over. It would appear, then, that the barley and wheat harvests extend from the beginning of April to the middle of June. But at Aleppo they are shorter: for Dr. Russell tells us, that the barley harvest begins there about the beginning of May, and that both it and the wheat harvests are generally over by the 20th of that month.^d And Dr. Shaw says, that in Barbary it comes on so late as the end of May and beginning of June.^e But these observations do not contradict the former remarks as to the length of the harvest in Judea: for Dr. Russell, in a manuscript note on Harmer’s *Observations*, says that the harvest in Judea is earlier than at Aleppo; and consequently earlier still than in Barbary; as indeed we have found, from various authorities, to be the case.—But, having seen the time of harvest, let us next attend to the manner in which they reap it. This was sometimes done with a sickle, gathering the corn in the arm,^f in the manner of the present Welsh, whose hook is large, and performs its work in a neater and more expeditious manner, than the sickles commonly in use. But the most common way

^a Verses 39—42.

^b Ruth ii. 23.

^c *Travels*, p. 153—156.

^d Vol. i. p. 74.

^e Page 137.

^f Is. xvii. 5.

was by pulling it up by the roots;^a a practice which appears strange to us, but which was naturally suggested to them by the scarcity of fodder and fuel. We have not unfrequently hitherto found Homer a good interpreter of Jewish customs; and perhaps he may be so now, as to the manner in which the bands of reapers were disposed in a field. According to him, the Grecians reaped in the same manner as they ploughed, beginning at the extremes of the field, which was equally divided, and continuing till they met in the middle; by which means they raised an emulation between the bands of reapers.^b I am uncertain whether the same practice was observed in Judea; but, if it was, it would have a similar effect in producing despatch. Naomi's reapers had vinegar and water to cool their thirst, and parched corn for their food;^c and, in the history of Bel and the dragon, we find a Jewish prophet called Habaccuc, who had made pottage, and had broken bread in a bowl, which he was taking to the field to give to the reapers.—In Judea the harvest was a season of joy; and as such is alluded to more than once in Scripture.^d Yet their joy was not inconsistent with religion. Thus Boaz, when he went to his reapers, said, "The Lord be with thee!" to which they replied, "The Lord bless thee!"^e Nay, even the salutations of the travellers as they passed partook of a religious feeling, when they said, "The blessing of the Lord be upon you! We bless you in the name of the Lord."^f—After the grain was cut down, or pulled up, it was formed into sheaves; but the sheaves were never set up into shocks, as with us, although they are mentioned in our translation of Judg. xv. 5. Job v. 26: for the original word signifies

^a Maundrell, p. 144. Pococke, vol. ii. p. 130. Russell, vol. i. p. 75. Capt. Light's Travels, p. 46—104.

^b Iliad xi. 67.

^c Ruth ii. 14.

^d Ps. cxxvi. 5. Is. ix. 3.

^e Ruth ii. 4.

^f Ps. cxxix. 8.

neither a shock composed of a few sheaves standing in the field, nor a stack of many sheaves in the barn-yard, properly thatched, to stand for a length of time; but a heap of sheaves laid loosely together, in order to be trodden out as quickly as possible, in the same way as is done in the East at the present day.—But let us attend now to the

4. *Threshing out of the corn*; or the manner in which they separated the corn from the straw.—This was done in several ways.—The first was by the staff or flail, which was used for the smaller grains, as fitches, dill, or cummin.^a—The second was by the feet of cattle, which is practised in many parts of the East at this day. An eye-witness informed the author of this work, that, after the floor is properly prepared by the removal of about six inches of earth, and the space being filled up with clay and cow-dung, a post is erected in the middle, with a moveable wooden ring at top, through which the cord passes that yokes the oxen, and can be lengthened or shortened at the pleasure of the driver, so as to make them move in a narrower or wider compass. This seems to have been the most ancient practice for the larger grains of barley, wheat, and rye; as we find the husbandmen forbidden in the law “to muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn.”^b Homer hath described this method, as practised in his time and country.^c The ancient Arabs, Syrians, Egyptians, and Romans, threshed their corn in the same manner, by the feet of cattle.^d And “those nations,” says Dr. Shaw,^e speaking of the Arabs and Moors in Barbary, “continue to tread out their corn after the primitive custom of the East. Instead of beeves, they frequently make use of mules and

^a Is. xxviii. 27, 28.

^b Deut. xxv. 4.

^c Iliad xx. 495.

^d Bochart, vol. ii. p. 302, &c. 311, &c.

^e Page 138, 139.

horses, by tying, in like manner, by the neck, three or four of them together, and whipping them afterwards round about the *nedders* (as they call the threshing-floors, the *Lybicæ* *arææ* of Horace,) where the sheaves lie open and expanded, in the same manner as they are placed and prepared with us for threshing. This, indeed, is a much quicker way than ours, though less cleanly; for as it is performed in the open air,^a upon any round level plat of ground, daubed over with cow-dung, to prevent, as much as possible, the earth, sand, or gravel from rising, a great quantity of them all, notwithstanding this precaution, must, unavoidably, be taken up with the grain: at the same time, the straw, which is their only fodder, is hereby shattered to pieces; a circumstance very pertinently alluded to in 2 Kings xiii. 7, where the king of Syria is said to have made "the Israelites like dust by threshing." The third kind of threshing instrument was the drag; which consisted of a sort of frame of strong planks, made rough at the bottom with hard stones or iron. It was drawn by horses or oxen over the corn sheaves, spread on the floor, the driver sitting upon it. The Roman *tribulum* was of this kind, as described by Varro;^b and Kempfer has given a print representing the manner of using this instrument.^c The fourth instrument for separating the corn from the straw was the wain. This was somewhat like the former, but had wheels with iron teeth, or edges like a saw:^d by which it would seem, that the axle was armed with iron teeth, or serrated wheels, throughout. See a description and print of such a machine used at present in Egypt for the same purpose, which moves upon three rollers, armed with iron teeth or wheels, to cut the straw,

^a Hosea xiii. 3.

^c Amæn. Exot. p. 682. fig. 3.

^b De Re rustica, lib. i.

^d Hieron. in loc.

in Niebuhr's *Voy. en Arabie*, Tab. xvii. p. 123.—The following is Capt. Light's account of it, as seen in 1814: "A frame of four feet wide and as many high, consisting of three sides was placed on wooden rollers, serving as axles to a number of thin circular iron plates, put in motion by a couple of oxen, driven by a boy, who sat on a cross bar above the rollers, and moved over the straw as it lay in heaps on the ground, after the grain had been trodden out. In a short time the straw was cut into small portions, which served to feed the cattle of the natives."^a—In Syria they make use of a drag constructed in the same manner as above described:^b and it would appear from Varro,^c that this teetthed sledge was the same as the *plostellum Pænicum*, or Carthaginian wain, which they no doubt derived from their Phœnician or Canaanitish ancestors. His words are, "*Ex assibus, dentatis cum orbiculis—in eo quis sedeat atque agitat, quæ trahunt, jumenta:*" meaning that it is made of boards, and furnished with little wheels, notched like teeth, adding, that a man may sit in it to drive the oxen which draw it.—It is pleasing to remark how useful these animals are in the operations of husbandry, and that the original law for inculcating humanity towards them is still observed by the people of the East. Thus Dr. Russell^d has remarked that "the natives of Aleppo, to this day, religiously observe the ancient custom of allowing the oxen employed in separating the corn from the straw to eat what they please." And Dr. Chandler, in his *Travels into Asia Minor*,^e observes, that near the ancient *Sigæum* he saw "oxen unmuzzled, treading out the corn."—We have all these kinds of threshing instruments spoken of in *Isaiah xxviii. 25—28*, and shortly

^a Page 46.

^b Niebuhr, *Descrip. de l'Arabie*, p. 140.

^c *De Re rustica*, lib. i. cap. 12.

^d Page 50.

^e Page 46.

explained in Bishop Lowth's note, which is engrossed in the above account of them.

5. *Winnowing*.—When the corn is threshed, the next operation is to separate the corn from the straw, the chaff, and the dust. By the practice of the East, the straw is completely bruised, or rather cut into very short pieces, by the feet of the oxen and the teeth of the wain: the whole mass, therefore, is thrown either with a pitchfork or a shovel (the *πύρον*, or fan of Scripture,)* some yards forward across the wind, which, driving away the straw, leaves the corn and unthreshed ears in a separate heap. The earth and other impurities are then separated from the grain by means of a sieve, and the unthreshed ears are submitted a second time to the feet of the oxen, till they are fitted for winnowing.^b It is easy to see from the nature of these operations, that the threshing-floors in the East required to be in airy situations. And accordingly, Gideon's and Araunah's threshing-floors were in the open air;^c while in Hosea xiii. 3, we read of "the chaff that is driven with the whirlwind out of the threshing-floor." Indeed, the original word for a threshing-floor (*גֶּרֶן* *geren*), signifies a place exposed to the wind; and Hesiod^d advises his husbandman to thresh his corn "in a place well exposed to the wind." We have here, therefore, two ways of winnowing corn, the first by a fork, when the straw is only bruised by the feet of cattle; and the second by a shovel or fan, when the straw has been cut by the drag or wain. I explain the fan to mean the shovel, because I do not find that the larger grains were ever winnowed by the agitation of the air from a fan in a man's hand, however the smaller grains may have

* Matt. iii. 12.

^b Niebuhr, *Voy. en Arabie*, tom. i. p. 123.

^c Judg. vi. 11. 2 Sam. xxiv. 18. ^d *Oper. et Dies*, verse 597.

been ; and yet it is used in the winnowing of wheat by John the Baptist, when speaking of Christ. Indeed, it is not probable that the dressing of grain in large quantities could ever have been carried on in that way : the natural mode was to catch the wind when they could, since machines to procure a constant artificial blast were not then invented, nor are they even known in these countries at the present day. Perhaps it may be said that the shovel and the fan are both mentioned in Is. xxx. 24 : but it may be stated in reply, that Lowth, in his New Translation, makes them “ the van and the sieve :” the one for driving it across the wind, and the other for separating it from any earthly particles. Homer mentions the van in Odyss. xi. 127. xxiii. 275, as carried on the shoulder.

6. *Laying it up in granaries.*—When the straw was separated, it was carefully laid up to be given to cattle, either by itself, or mixed with barley and beans : for it was too valuable “ to be trodden down for the dung-hill,” as our version hath it in Isaiah xxv. 10. And as for the corn, when it was properly cleansed, it was not put up in sacks, as with us ; but, after lying for some days to dry, they either put it into earthen jars (called barrels in 1 Kings xvii. 12,) to preserve it from the worms and other insects, as they do in Egypt and Palestine at this day,^a or laid it up in the fields,^b in mat-tamores, as Dr. Shaw calls them, which are heaps of grain laid on the surface of the ground, and covered with earth. Sir Robert Wilson thus describes them : “ The magazines of corn in Egypt are formed on the outside of the city walls, otherwise they would be too extended for the inhabitants to defend. The property of each village is deposited in one place, every indivi-

^a Harm. Ob. vol. i. p. 277, &c.

^b Jer. xli. 8.

dual owner heaping up his own rick, and keeping it distinct from his neighbours, by preserving a path round."—But besides these repositories in the fields, they have others under ground, to preserve grain in the wettest seasons.—These are very common in the East, as Harmer has shown from various authors;^a and Dr. Russell says, that "about Aleppo in Syria, their granaries are, even at this day, subterraneous grottos, the entry to which is by a small hole or opening, like a well, often in the highway; and, as they are commonly left open, when empty, they make it not a little dangerous riding in the night."^b The original word for "granaries," in Joel i. 17, means these subterraneous repositories; but those in the field were above ground. An eye-witness informed me, that in India they make up the rice heaps in this way, plastering them within and without with cow-dung, to prevent insects from hurting the grain. And when they are thus finished, they are sealed, both to secure private property and to prevent defrauding the government. Accordingly we are told, that "the doors of Joseph's granary in Old Cairo are kept carefully sealed; but its inspectors do not make use of wax on the occasion, but put their seal upon an handful of clay, with which they cover the lock of the door."^c It would appear that this custom of sealing with clay was very ancient; for Job xxxviii. 14, when speaking of the world as obedient to the plastic hand of its Maker, says, "it is turned as clay to the seal:" and indeed the dryness of the eastern summer made it a sufficient security for a considerable length of time.

7th. *Grinding into meal*.—The grain was commonly reduced to meal by the handmill, which consisted of a

^a Ch. xi. ob. 68. Clarke's edit.

^b Aleppo, p. 18.

^c Harm. Ob. vol. ii. p. 457, where see more.

lower millstone, the upper side of which was concave, and an upper millstone, whose lower surface was convex; so that the concave surface of the one was made to correspond with the convex surface of the other. The hole for receiving the corn was in the centre of the upper millstone, and in the operation of grinding, the lower was fixed, and the upper made to move round upon it with considerable velocity by means of a handle.^a Grinding corn among the Greeks and Romans was the work of slaves, and commonly of females.^b It was accounted a mean employment, and was therefore inflicted upon male slaves as a punishment.^c

Sir John Chardin has also remarked, "that female slaves are generally employed in the East at the handmills at the present day; that this work is extremely laborious; and that it is esteemed the lowest employment in the house."^d Hence Job xxxi. 10, says in his own vindication, "If I have acted dishonestly, let the wife of my bosom grind to another."

As the operation of grinding was commonly performed in the morning at daybreak, the sound of the females at the handmills was heard all over the city, and often awaked their more indolent masters.^e And the Scriptures mention the want of this noise as a mark of desolation in Jer. xxv. 10. Rev. xviii. 22. Even to this day the same practice is continued; for Dr. Shaw,^f when speaking of the Moors in Barbary, tells us, that they

^a In Niebuhr's *Voy. en Arabie*, tom. i. p. 122, pl. 17, fig. A, may be seen a representation of one of these handmills as still used in Egypt.

^b Homer, *Odyss.* vii. 104. xx. 105—115. Exod. xi. 5. Matt. xxiv. 40. Lowth's note on Is. xlvii. 2.

^c *Molendam in pistrino; vapulandum; habendæ compedes.*

Terent. Phormio, ii. 1. 19.

Hominem pistrino dignum.

Id. Heaut. iii. 2. 19.

^d Harmer's *Ob.* vol. i. p. 250.

^e *Ib.* p. 250—253.

^f Page 231.

"grind their wheat and barley at home, having two portable millstones for that purpose, the uppermost whereof is turned round by a small handle of wood or iron that is placed in the rim." When this stone is large, or expedition required, a second person is called in to assist; and as it is usual for the women alone to be concerned in this employment, who seat themselves over against each other with the millstones between them, we may see not only the propriety of the expression, *Exod. xi. 5*, of sitting behind the mill, but the force of another, *Matt. xxiv. 41*, that "two women shall be grinding at the mill; the one shall be taken, and the other left."

The above manner of preparing corn shows us also the humanity of that law in *Deut. xxiv. 6*, "No man shall take the nether or the upper millstone in pledge, for he taketh a man's life in pledge." He could not grind his daily bread without it. I have not met with any writer on Jewish antiquities who speaks of a mill driven by asses, and yet there is something in *Matt. xviii. 6*, which seems to favour it; for our Saviour says, that "whosoever shall offend one of these little ones, which believe in him, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea." The original words for millstone are *μῶλος ονικος*, which must either mean a millstone turned by asses, or a millstone carried by them. The reader will judge which ought to be preferred. We read in Catullus, who died A.A.C. 40, of a one-ass mill (*molæ asinarix unæ*;) so that they might have been introduced into Judea before our Saviour's time. Mills driven by water were not invented till a little before the time of Augustus, and windmills long after that.*

* Lowth's note on *Is. xlvii. 2*.

SECT. VI.

State of Pasturage in Judea.

Pasture unappropriated till after the division of Canaan ; exceedingly parched in summer ; low grounds irrigated ; abundance of grass in winter ; scarcity of grass and water in summer : springs much valued ; covered with stone to prevent evaporation and dust ; reservoirs ; horses and camels kept on hard food, except at the covering season. Pasture burnt to improve the grass, but forbidden at certain seasons. Wealth of the East consists much in cattle ; instances of this ; folding ; care to improve the breed ; their attention during the yearning season : sheepbearing, when performed ; a season of joy ; flocks watched during the night ; fed in upland districts in spring ; beside streams in summer ; browse in the vineyards in autumn ; go at large in winter. Sheep when at liberty have a daily range.

It appears from Scripture that in the times of the patriarchs the lands devoted to pasturage were unappropriated, the owners of the sheep conveying them in succession from place to place as their necessities required, in the same manner as is mentioned by Horace,^a and as the Arabs do at the present day. But when Judea was divided among the tribes, it is probable that pasturage, like agriculture, would become private property. Hence Josephus tells us of some robbers on the borders of Judea who retained their pastures which they had hired, without paying their rent.^b It should ever be remembered, however, that during the Jewish summer the grass is uncommonly withered ; those places only being verdant which are situated in the neighbourhood of springs or rivulets : hence Sir John Chardin tells us that “in every place where there is water there is always grass, for water makes every thing grow in the East.”^c And the Psalmist, who, from his pastoral character, was well acquainted with the flocks of Judea, speaks of the green pastures and the still waters, or waters of distributions,

^a Carm. lib. iii. ode xxiv. 12. ^b Antiq. xvi. 9. ^c Harm. Ob. vol. i. p. 54.

as the original hath it, by which they artificially exhausted rivulets, by placing banks across them, and directing their streams among the meadows on either side of the usual current. In the country of Judea, indeed, this could not be done very extensively; but farther to the east it is exceedingly common both for pasture and for their rice-fields. On the large map which accompanies Mr. Kinneir's Geographical Memoir of Persia, we see canals cut between the Euphrates and Tigris; and persons from India inform us that a similar irrigation is carried on in all the rice districts.

In every country it is a principal object of attention amongst storemasters to have abundance of food for their flocks and herds at all seasons of the year, and this likewise was the case in Judea; but their worst time was the very reverse of ours, for in winter and spring they had abundance, since that was their rainy season, whilst in summer they had want; a want of food, and a want of water: hence the value of springs and reservoirs. As for springs, they were either open in the sides of the hills, or dug in the valleys. In general, these last were the most esteemed, because in parched districts, and difficult to obtain: hence they were commonly covered with a stone to prevent evaporation or being filled with sand, and were even secured by a seal to preserve private property.^a Chardin saw some that were sealed with this view. As for reservoirs or tanks, as they are called in India, these were large quantities of water, secured within strong mounds, and filled in the rainy season in order to afford a sufficiency during the dry.^b

^a Cant. iv. 12.

^b There is a singular kind of springs known in Judea and the East, which it may not be improper also to notice—those, viz. which produce slime or naphtha. They abounded in the vale of Siddim; * they furnished the cement

* Gen. xiv. 10.

But whilst the sheep, goats, and kine were allowed to roam at large through the whole year, it was not the case with the horses and camels. These were kept then probably as they are now, almost always on hard food, the horses upon barley, and the camels on chopped straw, barley, and beans; for they make no hay in the East, although our translation hath hay in two places;^a and any grass that is eaten by horses is in the covering season, or March, when the grass is pretty well grown.^b Hence "the mown grass," mentioned in Ps. lxxii. 6, should have been translated, "grass that had been eaten down;" and "the king's mowings," in Amos vii. 1, should have been rendered, "the king's feedings," when his stud of horses were sent to grass to be at full liberty to generate their kind.

I may mention one additional circumstance concerning the lands devoted to pasturage, which is often indeed practised in Britain at a different season of the year, and that is, the burning the undergrowth and old herbage before the descent of the autumnal rains. This made the new grass after them peculiarly verdant, but was expressly forbidden at the time when the corn was growing, or when the cut corn was lying in heaps in order to be

for the building of Babel; and with this substance the mother of Moses beset the ark of bulrushes in which she laid her son. The most remarkable naphtha spring that I have read of is that mentioned by Mr. Macdonald Kinneir. "The quantity of naphtha," says he, "procured in the plain to the south-east of the city of Badku, the best sea-port town in the Caspian, is enormous. Like that in the vicinity of Kirkook and Mendali, it is drawn from wells, some of which have been found, by a computation of the inhabitants, to yield from a thousand to fifteen hundred pounds a day. These wells are, in a certain degree, inexhaustible, as they are no sooner emptied than they again begin to fill, and the naphtha continues gradually to increase until it has attained its former level."^c

* Geograph. Memoir of Persia, p. 359.

^a Prov. xxvii. 25. Is. xv. 6.

^b Harm. Ob. ch. xi. ob. 74. Clarke.

trodden by oxen or buffaloes.^a When the withered grass, however, was not burnt, it was often eagerly collected to "cast into the oven,"^b or put under the plate where they baked their bread.

The wealth of the eastern pastoral tribes consists chiefly in sheep, goats, camels, oxen, and asses. Job, before his affliction, had 7000 sheep, 3000 camels, 500 oxen, and 500 she-asses, and after his recovery he lived so long as to have double that number.^c And Mesha, king of Moab, was a sheep master, and paid the king of Israel as a tribute an hundred thousand lambs, and an hundred thousand rams, with the wool.^d Indeed, the numbers belonging to some of the Arab emirs are truly astonishing. Sir John Chardin saw one whose flocks extended ten leagues; and near Aleppo he saw a clan of Turcomans passing with 400,000 beasts of carriage, camels, horses, asses, oxen, and cows, and three millions of sheep and goats. This he had from many of the principal drivers, although there is great reason to believe them exaggerated. These animals, however, were not for show merely, for they commonly turned them to great account by selling them at every city as they passed for any articles of manufacture which were needed by their numerous establishment, or, as was most commonly the case, for large quantities of the precious metals.^e We are not to suppose, however, that the Jews could have such immense numbers as those mentioned above, since their country was limited in extent, and divided among a great number of proprietors; yet we have several particulars concerning them which ought to be noticed. Thus, to defend their flocks from the weather, and from wild beasts during the night, they

^a Exod. xxii. 6.

^b Matt. vi. 30.

^c Ch. i. 3. xlii. 12.

^d 2 Kings iii. 4.

^e Chardin, MS. tom. 6.

had numerous folds or sheeppcots.^a For improving the breed, they preferred the bulls of Bashan,^b and the rams of Bashan^c and of Nebaioth.^d But the proportions allotted to each of the kinds are very different from what is allowed in modern practice, being one he-goat or ram to ten she-goats or ewes, and one bull to four cows; at least, that was the proportion which Jacob fixed upon in his present to Esau.^e Modern farmers would think one to forty or even sixty of each kind not too much: but perhaps Jacob gave that number to Esau as a change of breed to his flock. Their care was peculiarly excited in the yeaning season, when some were heavy with lamb, others were giving suck, and the lambs in general were easily hurt: hence Jacob makes it an excuse to Esau why he could not travel quickly, that the flocks and the herds were accompanied by their young, and that one day's overdriving would be fatal to many of them.^f And Sir John Chardin confirms the patriarch's observation from his own experience; for he tells us that when travelling in the East, he saw "their flocks eat down the places of their encampments so quick, by the great numbers they had, that they were obliged to remove them too often, which was very destructive to their flocks, on account of the young ones, who had not strength enough to follow."^g The commentators have been much puzzled sometimes to explain the "*bis gravidæ pecudes*," of Virgil, Georg. ii. and the triple offspring of the Libyan ewes, mentioned by Homer, Odyss. iv. 86; but the difficulty disappears when one thinks of the nature and habits of these animals. Ewes go with young twenty-one weeks; they are only in season once in the year; they give milk about three months under the present management of stock in

^a Num. xxxii. 16, 24, 36. 1 Sam. xxiv. 3.

^b Ps. xxii. 12.

^c Deut. xxxii. 14.

^d Is. lx. 7.

^e Gen. xxxii. 14, 15.

^f Gen. xxxiii. 13.

^g Harmer, Ob. i. p. 126.

Britain, but would give it much longer if allowed ; they could not, therefore, have lambs twice, far less thrice, in the year. The difficulty then resolves itself into two or three at a birth ; the first of which is common among full fed sheep in Britain, and the last may be as common in warmer latitudes.—Sheepshearing seems to have been a season of rejoicing, as we learn from the histories of Laban, Judah, and Nabal ;^a and if it was performed at the same season as travellers tell us it is now, it must have been near the beginning of March, old style.^b But the seasons and climates regulate this, for sheep are never shorn in any country till the old fleece is so raised from the skin, as that the shears can clip in the new growth. Accordingly, sheepshearing is two months later in Britain than in Judea ; which Harmer has shown to be the average time between the ripening of the productions in the two countries. The following picture of a goatherd tending his charge, as given us by *Hasselquist*, p. 166, may perhaps be descriptive of the Jewish shepherds : “ On the road from Acra to Seide, (or Sidon,) we saw a herdsman, who rested with his herd of goats, which was one of the largest I saw in this country. He was eating his dinner, consisting of half ripe ears of wheat, which he roasted, and ate with as good an appetite as a Turk does his pillaws : he treated his guests with the same dish, and afterwards gave us milk, warm from the goats, to drink. Roasted ears of wheat are a very ancient dish in the East, of which mention is made in the book of Ruth.”^c Lightfoot tell us that the Jewish shepherds drove their flocks either to the wilderness or the plains devoted to pasturage, where they fed through the summer ; and that they were

^a Gen. xxxi. 19. xxxviii. 12. 1 Sam. xxv. 4.

^b Harm. Ob. ch. i. ob. 33. Clarke's edit.

^c He refers to Ruth ii. 14.

watched night and day till Marchesvan, or the middle of October, when the autumnal rains began to fall, and they returned home : which account agrees with the information given to us by modern travellers. For we are told that the shepherds, when they have no other shelter, lodge in caves, of which there are many vestiges still about Askelon,^a or in black coloured tents of goats' hair : that, before June, " the eastern hills are oftentimes stocked with shrubs, and a delicate short grass, which the cattle are more fond of than of such as is common to fallow ground and meadows. Neither is the the grazing and feeding of cattle peculiar to Judea, for it is still practised all over Mount Libanus, the Castravan mountains, and Barbary, where the higher grounds are appropriated to this use, as the plains and valleys are reserved for tillage ; for, besides the good management and economy, there is this farther advantage in it, that the milk of cattle fed in this manner is far more rich and delicious, at the same time that their flesh is more sweet and nourishing."^b Such is the way in which they shift about during the spring months. In the summer season, or from June till the autumnal equinox, Dr. Russell tells us, that " they take their flocks to feed beside streams, where alone verdure is to be found."^c And in the autumn the goats, sheep, and cattle are much relieved by being turned into the vineyards, and picking up the vine leaves.^d I shall only add, that as, in all pastoral districts, the flocks when left to themselves daily descend from the higher grounds in the morning, feed and rest in some low, agreeable place at noon, and ascend to the heights again in the evening ; so this practice is alluded to in Scripture, when the spouse, addressing her beloved under the character of a shepherd,

^a Zeph. ii. 6. ^b Shaw, p. 338. ^c P. 10. ^d Harmer, vol. i. Pref. lxxviii.

says,^a "Tell me, O thou whom my soul loveth, where thou feedest, where thou makest thy flock to rest at noon:" evidently indicating that they had a certain daily range, and that some shady place was selected to shelter them from the mid-day sun. Virgil, when treating of sheep, in his 3d Georgic, line 327, speaks of their beginning to rest at the fourth hour, or ten o'clock, when the heat began to be oppressive: and in Plato's Phædrus,^b we read of *προβατα μεσημβριαζοντα*, or sheep reclining at noon under a shade, by a still fountain.

SECT. VII.

State of Gardening among the Jews.

Kitchen garden; plants of; manner of rearing them. Vineyards, very numerous; frequent allusions to them in Scripture; supposed proportions of profit to the owner and occupier. Flower-gardens mentioned in Scripture: sometimes abused to idolatrous and obscene purposes: the Floralia of the Romans: orchards and shady walks of the Jews: trees and shrubs planted in them. Fences of loose stones; hedges; mud walls; stone regularly built. Gardens supplied with water: frequent allusions to this in Scripture. Maundrell's account of it. Fruits watched while ripening in temporary huts; elegant towers; chiosks; an account of one.—Their manner of making trees fruitful; rule for preserving or destroying them. A calendar of the time when fruits come in season at Sheeraz, in Persia, as an approximation to those in Judea. The daily wages of hired labourers.

BESIDES the lands that were devoted to agriculture and pasturage, it was usual with the Jews to inclose a certain portion for gardens, either for utility or pleasure. Hence the kitchen garden, the vineyard, the flower-garden, and the orchard.

We know but little of the plants which a kitchen garden contained; but, in general, we may remark, that the great wish of the eastern nations hath always been to procure an abundance of such fruits as, on the one

^a Cant. i. 7.

^b Page 1230.

hand, by their cooling nature, might allay the heat of the summer months; and, on the other, those herbs of a hot quality, which might give a tone to their digestive powers when debilitated by heat. Hence, while their general food was wheat, barley, rye, fitches, millet, lentils, beans, &c. their great care, during the summer months, was to have a plentiful and continued supply of cucumbers, melons, and gourds, to serve, in place of water, to allay the thirst; and of onions, leeks, garlic, anise, cummin, cassia, cinnamon, coriander, mustard, juniper, &c. to mix with their dishes, in order to give them a high season, and assist in digestion. It appears, indeed, strange to an European, when he hears of the very hot and highly-seasoned dishes of the East, where the climate itself is of so high a temperature: but God has wisely placed the articles for highest seasoning in the warmest latitudes, that the same cause which debilitates, by excessive and continued heat, the powers of digestion, might produce in abundance those articles that could correct that debility, and assist the languid powers of nature. In the production of these vegetables little care was necessary. Hasselquist, in his *Travels*, p. 160, observes, that the inhabitants of Nazareth, in Galilee, "had no spades, but a kind of hoe, or ground ax." And Niebuhr^a says, "instead of a spade the Arabs of Yemen make use of an iron mattock (an instrument mentioned in *Is. vii. 25*,) to cultivate their gardens, and the lands in the mountains, which are too narrow to admit the plough." The turning up of the earth, therefore, with these simple instruments, a plentiful manure, the extirpation of weeds, and a regular application of water, were all that were requisite to produce an

^a *Description de l'Arabie*, p. 137.

abundant crop of vegetables for the kitchen, where the climate in other respects was so favourable.

Vineyards were in great abundance in Judea, sometimes in elevated situations, and sometimes in low and sheltered valleys. When in elevated situations, they commonly faced the south, to make up by reflection what was wanting in natural temperature ; but low situations were generally preferred, on account of the depth of soil, and other advantages. We have an account of the manner in which they formed a vineyard, in *Is. v. 1, 2*; for wherever the vine could be cultivated it was eagerly adopted. Grapes were an agreeable fruit where the heat of the sun was so great, and their various preparations served either to give variety to entertainments or to form a considerable branch of commerce with their less favoured neighbours. It is no wonder, then, that such frequent allusions are made to the vine in Scripture. Thus the improvement of vines by *ingrafting* is employed by our Lord, to explain the advantages that are to be derived from union with himself, in *John xv. 1—4*. The rapidity of the growth of vines after the sap has begun to ascend by the showers and heat of spring, is beautifully applied by *Hosea xiv. 7*, to the revival and rapid growth of the people of God : “ They shall revive as the corn, and grow as the vine ; the scent thereof shall be as the wine of Lebanon.” And the disappointment of the vine-dresser, after all his care, is applied by *Jehovah*, to point out the ingratitude of his professing people, in *Jer. ii. 21* : “ I had planted thee a noble vine, wholly a right seed ; how then art thou turned into the degenerate plant of a strange vine unto me ?” The Psalmist takes notice of the hurtful effects of hail on vines, in *Psalm lxxviii. 47*. And *Solomon* speaks of the anxiety of the vine-dressers to catch the foxes, the little foxes, which spoiled the vines when they had ten-

der grapes, in Cant. ii. 15. When vineyards were let, a certain proportion of the produce was given to the owner,^a and a certain proportion to the cultivator of the soil. Thus in Solomon's garden, at Baalhamon, every one for the fruit thereof brought a thousand pieces of silver. Solomon got a thousand, and those who kept the fruit thereof two hundred :^b but we are not to look upon this proportion, perhaps, as a general rule. In Isaiah vii. 23, the rent for a thousand vines is said to have been a thousand silverlings, or shekels ; about half a crown each. When Captain Light was at Jaffa, or Joppa, in 1814, he found that "one-fourth of the produce of a garden went to the gardener, who is supplied with labourers to weed and work the ground by the owner, by whom all damages are repaired, horses and oxen are found, and water-wheels are erected for irrigation."^c

As for flower-gardens, although they are not minutely described in Scripture, they have always been in high request in the East. The vivid colours of the flowers, and their agreeable smell, have made them be much cultivated : whilst by collecting them to adorn their chambers, or using them as ornaments of dress, they sweetened the air of their apartments, and counteracted the effects of profuse perspiration. Hence the bridegroom is said to recline on beds of spices, and dwell among the lilies, in Cant. ii. 16. vi. 2, 3 ; the spouse invites him to these delightful retreats, Cant. ii. 10—13 ; and in Cant. iv. 13, 14, we have some of the most esteemed plants in an eastern garden. "Thy plants are an orchard of pomegranates, with pleasant fruits ; camphire, with spikenard, spikenard and saffron ; calamus and cinnamon, with all trees of frankincense ; myrrh and aloes (mean-

^a Matt. xxi. 34.^b Cant. viii. 11, 12.^c Travels, p. 144.

ing lign-aloes,) with all chief spices.” Parkhurst^a supposes that these gardens, in idolatrous times, were sometimes employed to idolatrous and obscene purposes; and that to these the words of Ezekiel, in ch. xiii. 20, refer.—“Wherefore, thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against your pillows (or luxurious cushions,) wherewith ye there hunt souls to make them fly” (or rather wherewith ye ensnare souls in the flower-gardens, לפרהות, *Lepereuth*,) alluding to the luxurious, idolatrous, and wicked acts performed in the chiosks, or summer houses, in those gardens. It is evident, from the context, that idolatry was practised there; and we may naturally presume on its attendant immodesty. Perhaps אַשְׁרֵה, *Asherè*, or Venus, was the deity to whose impure rites these pretended prophetesses, of whom the prophet speaks in verse 18, decoyed persons to their destruction. Isaiah, in ch. i. 29. lxxv. 3. lxxvi. 17, mentions such kind of gardens as we are now speaking of; and Varro^b informs us, that places of this kind, in which were public stews, were likewise by the Romans called *Floralia*, or Flower-gardens. To which we may add, that the *Ludi Florales*, or Floral Games, were a part of the Roman Religion, celebrated by the direction of the Sybilline oracles, in honour of the goddess *Flora*, and were appointed by the authority of the state. The chief part of the solemnity in which, as Parkhurst tells us, “was managed by a company of shameless strumpets, who ran up and down naked, sometimes dancing in lascivious postures, and sometimes fighting and acting the mimics.” How painful is it to observe the beauties of nature and the bounties of Providence converted, by the sensual and corrupted mind, into instruments of sin! And how superior to heathenism is

^a Lex. פרה.

^b De Re rust. Lib. i. c. 23.

the Christian religion, which inculcates a pure and rational piety!

Orchards and shady walks have always gratified an eastern taste :^a where the fruits in rich profusion everywhere meet the eye ; where the air is filled with the most delightful odours ; and where the thick branches, whilst they exclude the scorching rays of the sun, produce a pleasing undulation in the air, that fans and refreshes their relaxed frame. Their orchards differ almost entirely, however, from ours in the nature of the trees cultivated ; for they abound in apple-trees, cassia, cinnamon, citron, date or palm-trees, fig, hazel or pistachio, olive, pomegranate, &c. ; while their groves are adorned with the almond, lign-aloe, ash, box, cedar, chesnut, cypress, fir, hyssop, juniper, mallow, mulberry, myrtle, oak, oil-tree, pine, poplar, shitah or shittim, sycamore, willow, and a number of others that are not known in more northerly latitudes. In Cant iv. 13, we have mention of an orchard of pomegranates ; and in 2 Esdras xvi. 29, of an orchard of olives ; but, in general, a variety of kinds were brought together, so as to augment the beauty of the place.

In whatever way, however, they laid out their gardens, and other inclosures, it was accounted necessary to fence them completely against the depredations of thieves, and the injuries of foxes and jackalls. And, as many of the elevated parts of Judea were devoted to gardens and vineyards, one of the most common fences in such situations was loose stones in parallel rows, along the sides of the hills, described thus by Maundrell (25th March, 1696 :) “It is obvious,” says he, “that the rocks and hills, which appear now so barren, were anciently covered with earth, and cultivated. For this

^a Eccl. ii. 5.

purpose they gathered up the stones, and placed them in several lines along the sides of the mountains, in the form of walls, and by these borders supported the mould from tumbling or being washed down, forming many beds of excellent soil, gradually rising one above another, from the bottom to the top of the mountains; a form of culture, of which evident footsteps are to be seen in all the mountains of Palestine. The hills, though improper for any cattle but goats, being disposed in the above-mentioned beds, served very well for bearing corn, melons, gourds, cucumbers, and other vegetables, which are the chief food of these countries for several months of the year. And the most rocky parts, that could not be made to produce corn, might serve for vines and olive-trees, which delight in such dry and flinty places." Captain Light^a says, "that the cultivation between St. Jeremiah and Jerusalem was generally vine, planted in terraces formed on the sides by walls made of loose stones, or by the natural strata of the soil." In p. 219, when ascending Mount Libanon, he "passed vineyards, plantations of mulberry, olive, and fig-trees, cultivated on terraces formed by walls, which supported the earth from being washed away by the rains from the sides of the acclivities." And the same thing is mentioned by him p. 227.

The Honourable Mr. Elphinstone, also, in his account of the kingdom of Cabul,^b tells us, that "almost the whole of the cultivation on the steep hills of Otmaunkhail is carried on on terraces rising above each other." The same thing, he informs us, is done in the country under Sreenuggur, where the walls are from three to ten feet high, and terraces about five yards broad. "The walls are soon concealed by grass and

^a Travels in the Holy Land, p. 157.

^b Book iii. ch. 1.

other vegetation; and, as they are never straight, but consult the bends in the surface of the hills, the effect is pleasing and picturesque." These, then, were the fences in mountainous situations (as they are to-day in Tuscany and Lombardy;)* but, in deeper soils and level grounds, hedges were probably preferred: at least this is the case at present. Thus Rauwolff tells us, that about Tripoli the common fences are of *rhamnus*, *paliurus*, *oxyacantha*, *phillyrea*, *lycium*, *balaustium*, *rubus*, and dwarf palm-trees.^b Hasselquist tells us,^c that in Egypt he saw gardens fenced with the plantain, vine, peach, and mulberry. Doubdan saw a vineyard near Bethlehem strongly enclosed with thorns and rose-bushes, like that mentioned in Micah vii. 4, but intermingled with pomegranates.^d And hedges of fig-tree (*opuntia*) were found by the Baron de Tott between Joppa and Rama.^e But as these sometimes become open at bottom, and allow admittance to enemies, Rauwolff saw the gardens about Jerusalem surrounded by mud walls about four feet high:^f and Egmont and Heyman saw the country about Saphet in Galilee richly improved and enclosed with stone walls.^g It appears, indeed, that when they wished for perfect security, they planted both a hedge and a wall: for it is mentioned in the threatening of God against Israel, under the metaphor of a vineyard, in Is. v. 5, that he would take away the hedge thereof, that it might be eaten up; and break down the wall thereof, that it might be trodden down. On which Vitringa remarks, that the difference in signification between *משובב*, *meshubè*, and *גדר*, *geder*, is that the first denotes the outer thorny fence or hedge that was intended

* Chateauxvieux, *Lettres ecrites d'Italie* 1812.

^b Page 21, 22.

^c Page 111.

^d Page 154, 155.

^e Part iv. p. 93.

^f Page 336.

^g Vol. ii. p. 39, 40.

to exclude men, and the last the wall of stones surrounding it as a defence against beasts.

After having enclosed the ground, and planted it with proper trees and seeds, the next concern was to supply it with abundance of water. Hence the mention of trees planted by rivers, or rivulets of water,^a of gardens commended for their plentiful supply of water,^b and the complaint of the want of it as destroying the hope of the husbandman.^c Most people have heard of the irrigation of the lands of Egypt by the distribution of the waters of the Nile;^d and all who are acquainted with the horticulture of Judea and of the East, know that waters are distributed to the different trees, shrubs, and plants, according to their several necessities; "*uda mobilibus pomaria rivis.*"^e Hence the still waters, or waters of distribution, in Ps. xxiii. 2; the conduit in the garden, mentioned Ecclus. xxiv. 30; and the words of Ezekiel^f respecting the Assyrian empire, when he says of it, that "the deep," meaning thereby either the sea, from whence all moisture ultimately comes, or the tanks for containing rain water, "set him up on high with her rivers, running round about his plants, and sent out her little rivers unto all the trees of the field:" thereby intimating that the providence of God had made it great, and its subjects prosperous. But Maundrell on this subject will be the best interpreter. "The best sight," says he,^g "that the palace (of the Emir of Be-root, anciently Berytus) affords, and the worthiest to be remembered, is the orange garden. It contains a large quadrangular plot of ground, divided into sixteen lesser squares, four in a row, with walks between them. The walks are shaded with orange-trees, of a large spreading

^a Ps. i. 3. Is. xlv. 4. Numb. xxiv. 6. Jer. xvii. 5—8.

^b Is. lviii. 11. Jer. xxxi. 12. Ezek. xix. 4. Is. i. 30. ^c Job xxviii. 4.

^d Deut. xi. 10. ^e Horat. Carm. i. 7. ^f Ch. xxxi. 4. ^g Page 39.

size. Every one of these sixteen lesser squares in the garden was bordered with stone; and in the stone-work were troughs, very artificially contrived, for conveying the water all over the garden; there being little outlets cut at every tree, for the stream, as it passed by, to flow out and water it." Every one must see how effectually this would correct the heat of the climate, and give a luxuriant vegetation to all within, while the grounds without were parched with drought; and the classical reader will here recollect the garden of Alcinous, king of Phæacia.^a The following extract from Maundrell may give a tolerable idea of the appearance of the country round about Jerusalem, or any great city where they had abundance of water. "Damascus," says he,^b "is encompassed with gardens, extending no less, according to common estimation, than thirty miles round, which makes it look like a city in a vast wood. The gardens are thick set with fruit trees of all kinds, kept fresh and verdant by the waters of Barrady (the Chrysorroas of the ancients,) which supply both the gardens and city in great abundance. This river, as it issues from between the clefts of the mountain (of Antilibanus) into the plain, is immediately divided into three streams, of which the middlemost and biggest runs directly to Damascus, and is distributed to all the cisterns and fountains of the city. The other two (which Mr. Maundrell takes to be the work of art) are drawn round, one to the right hand, and the other to the left, on the borders of the gardens, into which they are let as they pass by little currents, and so dispersed all over the vast wood: insomuch, that there is not a garden but has a fine quick stream running through it. Barrady is almost wholly drunk up by the city and gardens; and what

^a *Odys.* vii. 112—130.

^b Page 122.

small part of it escapes is united in one channel again on the south-east side of the city; and, after about three or four hours' course, finally loses itself in a bog there, without ever arriving at the sea." In short, from this extract it appears that the greatest pains were taken to make the most of every stream that passed through the country; and perhaps they used the same method for enriching the water that the Damascenes did the Barrady, by placing men upon hurdles, and dragging them down the stream, to raise the sediment which had been deposited at the bottom.*

When the fruits were ripening, it was usual to defend them from the jackalls, by watching them day and night, in small temporary huts, covered with boughs, straw, turf, or the like materials, for a shelter from the heat by day,^b and the cold and dews by night.^c Hence the words of the prophet in Is. i. 8, "The daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard (deserted, viz. after the vintage is past,) as a lodge, or temporary hut, in a garden of cucumbers." But besides these temporary huts, they had sometimes elegant towers, for the pleasure of viewing the surrounding scenery and chiosks, or arbours, in which they indulged in ease and pleasure. We have one of these arbours described by Lady M. W. Montagu. "In the midst of the garden is the chiosk, that is, a large room commonly beautified with a fine fountain in the midst of it. It is raised nine or ten steps, and enclosed with gilded lattices, round which vines, jessamines, and honeysuckles, make a sort of green wall.

* If the city of Damascus was not so extensive formerly as it is now, there might only have been two branches of the Barrady, as all that were then requisite for watering the extent of country laid out in gardens; and if that was the case, these two streams might have been the Abana and Pharphar, which are so highly praised by Naaman the Syrian in 2 Kings v. 12; for there are no other rivers of equal magnitude in the country.

^b Is. iv. 6.

^c Lowth, Is. i. 8, note. Job xxvii. 18.

Large trees are planted round this place, which is the scene of their greatest pleasures."^a It was perhaps a house of this kind that is mentioned in 2 Kings ix. 27, as the place by which Ahaziah, king of Judah, wished to escape the fury of Jehu : for he is said to have "fled by the way of the garden-house."

We know very little of their manner of managing trees, so as to make them more fruitful ; but Lightfoot gives us the following short hints from the Talmud : "They lay dung in their gardens to moisten and enrich the soil ; dig about the roots of their trees ; pluck up the suckers ; take off the leaves ; sprinkle ashes ; and smoke under the trees to kill vermin."^b Hence, in the parable of the fig-tree that had been barren for three years, the gardener pleads for delay till he should dig about it and dung it.—The Jews had also a dispute among themselves as to the degree of fruitfulness that a tree should have to make it worth preserving ; and their conclusion was, "Cut not down the palm that bears a cab of dates, nor the olive, if it but bear the fourth part of a cab."^c But as much depended on the age of the tree, so this rule only held good after the end of the third year ; when they stigmatised those that were barren, or gave inconsiderable returns, by a red mark, as a mark of destruction.^d—It would certainly be desirable to have a calendar of the times when the different fruits ripen in Judea, as it might tend to throw light on several portions of Scripture ; but, since that hath not yet appeared, I shall add from Clarke's Harmer, ch. i. ob. 30, one that was kept by an European gentleman at Sheeraz in Persia, 1787.

^a Vol. ii. Lett. 32. Comp. vol. iii. Lett. 43.

^b Heb. and Talm. Exer. Luke xiii. 8.

^c Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. Luke xiii. 7.

^d Lightf. Chorog. Cent. of Israel, ch. 98.

On the 1st of June, apricots, cherries, apples, green-gages, and plums, came into season. On June 19th, musk-melons. On July 6th, black grapes. On July 9th, pears. On July 13th, white grapes, and water-melons; and on July 18th, the Orleans plumb. On July 20th, apricots, apples and cherries, went out of season. On July 22d, figs came into season. On August 6th, peaches, and the small white grape called askerie. On Sept. 6th, pomegranates. On Sept. 10th, quinces, and the large red grape called sahibi. On Oct. 4th, the large pear called abbasi. And on Oct. 7th, walnuts.

I shall conclude this account of Jewish horticulture by remarking, that, as hired servants were often employed along with slaves, and the other members of the gardener's family, so a regulated sum was commonly given them in name of wages. Thus, our Lord in one of his parables tells us of a certain person who went to the market-place and hired labourers for a penny a day,^a or about $7\frac{1}{4}d$ of our money. And when Tobit hired Azarias as his servant, he agreed for a drachm a day, and things necessary, meaning his support, which was also $7\frac{1}{4}d$:^b so that a drachm, or denarius, was the common wages of a servant or labourer for a day, consisting of twelve hours: although these did not always form the stipulated length; for, in the Jewish writings, the labourers are said to have wrought from sunrise till the appearance of the stars, when the urgency of the season required it.^c

^a Matt. xx. 2.

^b Tobit v. 14.

^c Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. Matt. xx. 1.

SECT. VIII.

State of Property in Judea.

Pasture in the first stage of society common ; arable lands only accounted property while they produced crops ; property afterwards, either in the hands of proprietors or occupants ; rent, how collected from such ; farmers, in the present acceptation of the word, then unknown. Square acres in the land of Judea : proportion to each individual family ; something like the feudal system among them ; the eldest son's share ; method of acquiring property ; checks on selfishness : the effect of the appointment of kings on property. The natural effects of the Jewish institutions on their national character.

IN pastoral districts, the soil in the East, as was formerly mentioned, is frequently unappropriated, each shepherd keeping his flock in his present pasture, till necessity obliges him to seek for a better. But they sometimes also hold it for a certain annual consideration given to the government of the country, as Niebuhr tells us the Arab tribes give for the privilege of feeding their flocks and herds in some parts of Arabia, in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, and in the rich plains of Upper Egypt.*—As for lands devoted to agriculture, they seem to be held under several kinds of tenure : thus, some are temporary, but independent ; the occupant enjoying the present or succeeding crops so long as it rewards his labour, or suits his convenience ; others hold in perpetuity of some neighbouring chief, either for personal service, or pecuniary consideration ; and others pay their proportion of taxes to the state, as the price of their security : these are, properly speaking, the possessing proprietors, who devote their care to the improvement of their estates, and personally superintend them : but there are others, who, from ignorance, indolence, distance, or other avocations, find this personal attendance inconvenient or impossible, and therefore

* Travels, passim.

commit the charge of their property to some trusty individuals, to manage it for them, on the condition of their retaining a certain proportion of the produce in lieu of wages.—This is done in the East, and is hinted at in one of the parables of our Lord, where the proprietor, not of an agricultural farm indeed, but of a vineyard, let it out to husbandmen on his going to a far country, and sent his servants at the proper season to receive the fruits thereof.* And in Cant. viii. 12, we are told by Solomon, that he, as proprietor of a vineyard, received five-sixths as proprietor, and gave one-sixth to the husbandmen as wages: a royal remuneration surely, if every thing was found them; but as a general ratio of rent, the reverse of this rule ought to have been adopted.—Accordingly, when Egypt, in the days of Joseph, became the property of Pharaoh, a fifth part of the produce was reckoned sufficient as rent or tax for the king, and four-fifths were allowed to remain with the possessor, regulated by the rise of the Nile, as marked in the Nilometer, the invention of which they ascribe to Joseph.—According to this, when the Nilometer marked 18 cubits or upwards, which insured an abundant crop, a full fifth was exacted; and when it showed a less rise, government was contented with a less proportion. It is rather remarkable, that the same mode of assessment continues in Egypt at the present day; but what was originally an equitable tax, is now accounted an oppressive one, from the less extent of country irrigated, and the more imperfect manner of doing it: for the rise of the Nile still fixes the quantum of tax, although the canals which convey the water from the Nile are not regularly cleared of the mud that is deposited in them; nor are they carried to the same ex-

* Matt. xxi. 33, 34.

tent as formerly, owing to the insecurity of life and property.—Nay, even this rule, oppressive as it is, is rendered sometimes more oppressive still by the necessities of the Turkish government, as the following extract from Captain Light's Travels^a will show: "New modes of obtaining money were adopted; all the land of Egypt was at once considered the property of the divan: it was portioned off to the different villages, overseers stationed to be answerable for its cultivation, the produce divided into a certain number of parts, of which, one fifth remained to the community, and the rest was at the disposal of the pasha; the same demands were made in bad as in good seasons."

I am not certain that farmers, according to the present acceptation of the term, held any place in the ancient modes of occupying land; but if they did, it is easy to see that they could neither be so general nor so respectable as they are at present. They are the connecting link of the rich and the poor, and only thrive where there is mutual confidence and many wants; where the law gives security to life and property; where knowledge directs to judicious management, and commerce creates a floating capital. But we must not overlook the peculiar tenure by which property was held in the land of Judea. A space of ground, 200 miles long by 100 miles broad, was divided among twelve tribes, consisting of 2,035,441 individuals, assuming the number at the banks of Jordan as the average population of the Jewish nation. But these 200 miles long by 100 miles broad give 20,000 square miles, which multiplied by 3,097,600, the square yards in a mile (for 1760 multiplied into 1760 gives that result,) gives us 61,952,000,000 as the square yards in the land of Canaan; and this divided by

4840, the number of square yards in an English acre, gives 12,800,000 as the number of English acres in Canaan. Now, let us divide these by 2,035,441, or the number of souls constituting the Jewish population, and we have six English acres, one rood, six poles to each individual: or if we suppose five persons to every family, it gives thirty-one acres, one rood, and thirty poles to each family, making no distinction of soil, and allowing every inch of Canaan to be appropriated. We are, indeed, unacquainted with the proportions into which the lands of each tribe were divided, but it would appear to have been somewhat on the principle of the feudal system, where rulers of thousands got more than rulers of hundreds, and rulers of fifties more than rulers of tens, because they had more retainers; for although their power was partly judicial by their appointment, to preside in courts of justice, yet that power seems to have been given them as the natural heads of the community, on account of their birth and affluence. The eldest son, by law, was entitled to a double share of his father's effects, which seems to have been confined to the moveable property; for had the heritable property been capable of division it would soon have dwindled into nothing. The portion of the eldest son, therefore, seems to have been all the heritable property in land, and a double share of the moveables; but he would acquire more in the course of time by the reversion of property on the extinction of heirs, and by conquest through marriage. Yet although the law favoured heritable succession, or conquest by marriage, it placed a barrier against the encroachments of avarice, and the oppression of the poor, by the appointment of the jubilee, at which every person who had mortgaged his property had it restored to himself or his family without recourse to legal process. The only deviation from the general law seems to have been

in the case of kings, to whom a certain extent of territory was either assigned or seized upon for pasturage, agriculture, and vineyards. They had naturally a large establishment, and these were supported partly from this fund, and partly by direct taxes upon the people. Accordingly, Samuel warned them of this when they wished for a king,* and we find the kings afterwards acting upon it. Indeed, it is difficult to say how long heritable property remained regularly divided among them, for the jubilees are understood to have been soon neglected, and the concentrating principle of self-interest would therefore acquire a double force. Perhaps we may date it from the introduction of the kingly government, for the state of Judea under the judges was a kind of aristocracy, where property was preserved by the balance of power among the contending parties, and the erection of a divine dictatorship. But when kings appeared they felt wants; their favourites wished for wealth; and the invasion of property, which was introduced by the sovereign, extended to the subject, till the captivity, after which the original agrarian law seems to have been entirely laid aside, and a new division, according to circumstances, took place. There were several things, however, in the political state of Judea which enabled property to have an effect on character: thus, the equal division of property, while it lasted, would produce an attachment to the soil, because their residence was their own; had descended to them through a long train of ancestors; and was rendered sacred by the shades of their fathers, and the endearing recollections of early youth. While being but small in extent, they would naturally be forced to make the most of it for their family, and would acquire those

* 1 Sam. viii. 11—17.

- industrious and virtuous habits which competence without luxury naturally produces. Nor could patriotism and piety fail to spring from, or be fostered by, their peculiar institutions; and it would have been happy for them if the wise provisions of heaven had been observed, which were intended to render them a distinct people. They would have ceased to imitate the evil practices of the heathen, and might thus have avoided those national calamities which have so much attracted the attention of historians.

A
DISSERTATION
ON
THE LANGUAGE
OF
THE JEWS.

BY DAVID JENNINGS, D. D.

TO the large account given of the Jews and their religion, chiefly from the sacred records of the Old Testament, I shall now subjoin a dissertation on the languages in which those records were written, namely, the Hebrew and the Chaldee. However, as only a small part of the latter writings are in Chaldee, our chief attention will be paid to the Hebrew. And here we shall consider,

- 1st, The antiquity of the language ; and
- 2dly, The language itself.

1st, As to its antiquity : The Jews are very confident it was the first and original language, which, they say, was contrived by God himself, and which he inspired

Adam with a complete knowledge of. Accordingly those words, which we translate, "Man became a living soul," Gen. ii. 7. are rendered in the Chaldee Paraphrase of Jonathan, "The breath, breathed into him by God, became in man a speaking soul." And to the same purpose the Paraphrase of Onkelos. But notwithstanding the confident assertions of the Jews, there are other persons who have taken the liberty to doubt of this opinion, not only as to the high antiquity of the Hebrew language, but as to such a divine original of any language at all.

1st, As to the original of language itself. Though the Jews assert their language was taught to Adam by God himself, yet they are not all agreed how far the divine institution reached. Abarbanel supposes God instructed our first parents only in the roots and fundamental parts of the tongue, and left the further improvement to themselves; but others, that they received the whole extent and propriety of the language by immediate revelation. The same opinion hath been embraced by several Christians, particularly by Eunomius, who, because God is introduced by Moses as speaking before the creation of man, maintained that there was in words a certain eternal and immutable nature. But it is difficult to conceive, what connection there can be, for the most part, between sounds and things, except what is arbitrary, and fixed by consent or custom. And Gregory Nyssen exposes it as ridiculous and blasphemous to imagine, God would turn grammarian, and set him down subtilly to invent names for things. Dr. Shuckford conceives, that the original of our speaking was indeed from God; not that he put into Adam's mouth the very sounds which he designed he should use as the names of things; but only as he made him with the powers of a man, he had the use of an understanding to form notions in his mind of things about him, and he had power to utter sounds

which should be to himself the names of things, according as he might think fit to call them. These he might teach Eve, and in time both of them teach their children; and thus began and spread the first language of the world. Perhaps in this, as in many other disputes, the truth may lie betwixt the extremes. If our first parents had no extraordinary divine assistance in forming a language, it must have been a considerable time before they would have been able to converse freely together; which would have been a very great abatement of the pleasure of their paradisaical state. Nevertheless, as no doubt God formed them with excellent abilities, it may reasonably be supposed, he left them to exercise those abilities in perfecting a language upon the hints which he had given them.

But in whatever way the original language was formed,

2dly, In the dispute which was the original language, other nations have put in their claim, with as much assurance as the Jews. The Armenians allege, that as the ark rested in their country, Noah and his children must have remained there a considerable time, before the lower and marshy country of Chaldea could be fit to receive them; and it is therefore reasonable to suppose they left their language there, which was probably the very same that Adam spoke.

Some have fancied the Greek the most ancient tongue, because of its extent and copiousness.

The Teutonic, or that dialect of it which is spoken in the lower Germany and Brabant, hath found a strenuous patron in Geropius Becanus, who endeavours to derive even the Hebrew itself from that tongue.

The pretensions of the Chinese to this honour, have been allowed by several Europeans. The patrons of this opinion endeavour to support it, partly by the great antiquity of the Chinese, and their having preserved

themselves so many ages from any considerable mixture or intercourse with other nations. It is a notion advanced by Dr. Allix, and maintained by Mr. Whiston with his usual tenacity and fervour, that the Chinese are the posterity of Noah, by his children born after the flood, and that Fohi, the first king of China, was Noah.

It is further alleged in favour of the Chinese language, that consisting of few words, and those chiefly monosyllables, and having no variety of declensions, conjugations or grammatical rules, it carries strong marks of being the first and original language. Shuckford saith, it is so like a first uncultivated essay, that it is hard to conceive any other tongue to have been prior to it; and whether it was itself the original language or not, in respect to its consisting of monosyllables, the first language was no doubt similar to it. For it cannot be conceived, if men had at first known that plenty of expression which arises from polysyllables, any people or persons would have been so stupid, as to reduce their language to words of one syllable only.

As for those which are called the oriental languages, they have each their partisans; and of these the Hebrew and Syriac have most votes. The generality of eastern writers allow the preference to the Syriac, except the Jews, who assert the antiquity of the Hebrew with the greatest warmth; and with them several Christian writers agree; particularly, Chrysostom, Austin, Origen and Jerome among the ancients, and among the moderns Bochart, Heidegger, Selden, and Buxtorff. The chief argument to prove the Hebrew the original language, is taken from the names of persons mentioned before the confusion of Babel; which, they say, are plainly of the Hebrew derivation: As *Adam*, from *Adamah*, the ground, because God formed him out of the

earth: *Eve* or *Havah*, from *hajah*, *vixit*, because "she was the mother of all living:" *Cain* from *kajah*, *acquisivit*: *Seth*, from *suth*, *posuit*: *Peleg* from *palag*, *divisit*; and several others.

It is said these are plainly Hebrew names, and therefore prove the Hebrew language to have been in use when they were given. Besides it is alleged, the names of some nations are derived from Hebrew names: As *Ionia*, from *Javan*, the son of Japhat. And so likewise of some heathen gods; as *Vulcan*, which seems to be a corruption of *Tubal-Cain*; as *Apollo* does of *Jubal*. But *Grotius* and others will not allow this argument to be conclusive, and therefore reply,

1st, There are many more patriarchal names, of which we can find no such Hebrew derivation, than there are of which we can; and it might very likely happen, that among such a multitude of names, some few might answer to the word, which expressed the sense of that original word from whence the name was derived, in whatever language *Moses* had written. Thus, supposing he had written in Latin, and accordingly translated the name *Adam* into *homo*, it would have borne as near a relation to *humus*, the ground, as it does in Hebrew to *Adamah*.

2dly, We have no reason to conclude the names in the Mosaic history were the original names, and not translated by *Moses* into the language in which he wrote; since we have a plain instance of such a translation, in his own name; which, as it was given him by Pharaoh's daughter, an Egyptian, cannot be supposed to have been originally Hebrew; therefore, not *Mosheh*, as he wrote it, but as it is in the Coptic version *Mōūsi*, from *Mōū*, which in that language signifies water, and *si*, taken. But *Moses*, finding the Hebrew word *mosheh*, to "draw out," bearing some resemblance in sound to

his name, and in signification to the occasion of it, translated the Egyptian name *Mouïsi*, into the Hebrew *Mosheh*.

3dly, It is said, that several of those names are more pertinently derived from some other of the oriental tongues, than from the Hebrew: As Abel, or Hebel, which in Hebrew signifies vanity or a vapour, seems not a name very apposite to Adam's second son; and therefore Moses hath assigned no reason for his being called by that name. But if it be derived from the Syriac *jehab eil*, which signifies, *Deus dedit*, it is very proper and expressive. So the name Babel, which the Hebrew text informs us was so called because God did there *balal*, that is, confound the language of all the earth, may be more naturally derived from the Syriac; in which tongue Babel, or Bobeel, signifies confusion. So that the Syriac, or perhaps any other of the eastern tongues, might be proved by this argument from the etymology of the names, to have been the *original language*, as well as the Hebrew.

Le Clerc further advances, that several of these names were not the proper names, by which the persons were called from their birth; but *cognomina*, or surnames, which were given them afterwards on account of something remarkable in their lives; and which an historian would naturally have translated into his own language. Thus the Greek writers speak of Pellusia, a city of Egypt, which was so called *apo tou pelou* from clay, because it stood in clayey ground; yet it can hardly be supposed this was its proper Egyptian name.

Upon the whole, Le Clerc's opinion seems to bid fairest for the truth, That neither the Hebrew, nor Syriac, nor Chaldee, nor any other language now extant, was the true original tongue; but that this, and the other oriental tongues have all sprung from, or are so

many different dialects of that first language, itself now lost among them; as the Italian, French and Spanish are none of them the language of the ancient Romans, but all derived from it.

HAVING failed in the attempt of tracing up the Hebrew language with any certainty to Adam, we are now to inquire to what people or nation it properly belonged after the confusion of Babel.

Those who are zealous for the high antiquity of the Hebrew tongue, tell us, it was preserved, in the midst of that confusion, in the family of Eber, who, they say, was not concerned in the building of Babel, and consequently did not share in the punishment inflicted on those that were.

Before we examine this opinion, it may be no improper digression to consider briefly the account we have of that confusion, and of the origin of different languages in the eleventh chapter of Genesis; where we read, that "the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech," Gen. xi. 1. And again, ver. 6, 7. "The Lord said, Behold the people is one, and they have all one language." But God said, "Let us go down, and confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech." And again, "The Lord did there confound the language of all the earth," verse 9. Now, as to the decree of this confusion, and the manner in which it was effected, there is a great diversity of sentiments.

The modern Jews, as Julius Scaliger informs us, understand it not of a multiplication of tongues, but of a confusion of those ideas, which they affixed to words. Suppose, for instance, one man called for a stone, another understood him to mean mortar, having that idea now fixed to the

word; another understood water: and another, sand. But though such a different connecting of ideas with the same words must needs produce a strange confusion among the people, enough to make them desist from their undertaking; nevertheless this by no means accounts for the diversity of tongues, which consists not in the same words being used in different senses, but in the use of words quite remote, and different from one another.

Others are of opinion, that all the confusion which happened at Babel was in the people's quarrelling among themselves, and thereupon bandying into parties, and separating from each other; which, they say, is ascribed to God in the same sense, in which it is elsewhere said, there "is no evil in the city, and the Lord hath not done it;" that is, permitted, and overruled it to the accomplishment of his own wise and gracious designs.

As for the different languages now in the world, these gentlemen suppose, that they all arose at first from one original language, and that this variety is no more than must naturally have happened in so long a course of time; partly through the difference of climates, which it is said will occasion a difference of pronunciation, and thereby gradually a variation in languages; and from various other causes, which are sometimes observed to have so altered the language of some nations, that it hath hardly been intelligible at the distance of two or three hundred years. Thus the Salian verses, composed by Numa, were scarcely understood by the priests in Quintilian's time. *Saliorum Carmina*, saith he, *vix sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta*. And we find it no less difficult to understand the language of our forefathers three or four centuries ago.

To this hypothesis, that what is commonly called the

confusion of tongues was only a difference of opinions, and the contentions consequent thereupon, it may be objected, that this does by no means come up to the obvious meaning of the sacred history, which tells us, "that God did there," even at Babel, "confound the language of all the earth;" which before was "one" and the same; implying, that in consequence of this extraordinary procedure of providence, there was now a diversity of tongues, which occasioned their "not understanding one another's speech:" and likewise, that several of the present languages are so entirely remote from one another, that with no reasonable probability can they be supposed to have sprung from the same original. For though length of time may very much alter a language in its words and phrases, according to the observation of Horace,

Multa renascentur, quæ jam cecidere; cadentque,

Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus :

Yet what instance can be produced of mere length of time bringing a whole language out of use, and introducing another in the room of it. Besides, the greatest alterations of languages, of which any history, since that of Babel, informs us, have arisen from the intermixture of people of different languages. Thus the Roman language was corrupted and altered by the multitude of foreign slaves, which were kept at Rome. But if all languages had originally sprung from one, such an intermixture of the people of different nations must have tended to prevent the diversity of language, instead of promoting it.

Dr. Shuckford has an hypothesis, I suppose, peculiar to himself, that the builders of Babel were evidently projectors, and their heads being full of innovations, some of the leading men among them set themselves to

invent new words, as particularly polysyllables, and to spread them among their companions ; from whence in time a different speech grew up in one party from that in another, till at length it came to such a height, as to cause them to form different companies, and so to separate.

It may be objected to this hypothesis, as well as to the former, that it by no means comes up to the obvious meaning of the sacred history. Besides, Theseus Ambrose hath started another material objection, that the diversity of languages cannot be supposed to have arisen from choice and contrivance, unless it can be imagined that men would do themselves such a prejudice, as that when they had one common language to represent their conceptions, they should themselves introduce so great an alteration, as would break off that mutual society and converse which even nature itself dictated.

As to what Dr. Shuckford saith, that experience shows, the fear of doing mischief hath not restrained the projects of ambitious men, it may be replied, that though it may not have restrained them from doing it to others, it surely will restrain them from doing it to themselves. And as to what he further alleges, that he sees no detriment arising from the confusion of languages, let experience, and the immense pains men are forced to take in learning foreign languages, which they have occasion for, tell us, whether it be an inconvenience and detriment, or not.

Upon the whole, I can see no reason to depart from the obvious meaning of the historical narrative, which represents the confusion of tongues as the immediate act of God ; but think it right to conclude with Calvin, *Prodigii loco habenda est linguarum diversitas.*

It would be to little purpose to inquire, in what way and manner these new languages were formed ; for

though there are various, they are all uncertain, conjectures about it.

There is one inquiry more on this head, on which we shall briefly touch ; namely, how many languages arose from the confusion of Babel.

The Jews make them seventy, imagining there were seventy different nations then planted in the world ; a notion which they ground on the following passage in Deuteronomy, “ When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel,” Deut. xxxii. 8. That is, say they, he divided them into seventy nations, seventy being the number of the children of Israel, when they came into Egypt. Bochart, however, hath given a far more probable sense of this passage, that God so distributed the earth among the several people that were therein, as to reserve, or, in his sovereign counsel, to appoint, such a part for the Israelites, though they were then unborn, as might prove a commodious settlement and habitation for them.

We have no way to determine, how many languages sprung out of the first confusion. No doubt but their number hath been since multiplied : for we have instances in later ages, of several languages growing out of one ; the Italian, French and Spanish, for instance, out of the Latin. And thus probably, several eastern tongues or dialects arose out of one ; but whether out of the antediluvian language, or some other, is by no means certain.

We now return to the inquiry, To what people, after the dispersion of the nations, the Hebrew language originally belonged. The opinion of the Jews hath been already mentioned, that it was the language of Heber’s family, from which Abraham sprung. But this is *gratis dictum*, or rather highly improbable ; since we find

Heber's family, in the fourth generation after the dispersion, living in Chaldea, where Abraham was born, Gen. xi. 27, 28.; and there is no reason to think they used a different language from their neighbours around them. Now, that the Chaldee, and not the Hebrew, was the language of Abraham's country, and of his kindred, appears, in that he sent his servant to own country, and to his kindred, to take a wife for his son Isaac, namely Rebekah, Gen. xxiv. 4.; and that Laban, the brother of Rebekah, spake a different language from the Hebrew, namely, the Chaldee; for the same pillar, or heap of stones, which Jacob called *galnedh*, which is a Hebrew word, Laban calls in his language *jegar sahad-hutha*, which is pure Chaldee, Gen. xxxi. 46, 47. From whence it seems reasonable to conclude, that Abraham's native language was Chaldee, and that the Hebrew was the language of the Canaanites, which Abraham and his posterity learnt by dwelling among them. This *Le Clerc* hath endeavoured to prove.

1st, From the names of places, as well as men, in the land of Canaan, being pure Hebrew. Fuller indeed, in his *Miscellanies*, supposes, that Moses in writing his history translated the Canaanitish names into Hebrew; which, if well grounded, would entirely destroy the argument, which he himself and others make use of, to prove, that the Hebrew was the antediluvian language, from the names of some of the ancient patriarchs being pure Hebrew. But this does not seem to be the case as to the names of places in Canaan; for we find, that though the Israelites changed the names of some of them, yet their old names were as much Hebrew as their new ones. For instance, Mamre, which they changed into Hebron, Gen. xiii. 18.; Kirjath-sepher, which they changed into Debir, Josh. xv. 15.; and Lashem, which they changed into Dan, Josh. xix. 47.

It is further observed, that the names of the cities of the Philistines, who were a part of the Canaanites not subdued by the Israelites, were probably Hebrew ; such as Gaza, Ashdod, Gath, Ekron, &c.

2dly, Whereas the Egyptians and other neighbouring nations are called “ a people of a strange language ” to the Jews, Ps. cxiv. 1. lxxxi. 5. nothing like that is ever said of the Canaanites.

3dly, If none but Jacob’s family had spoken Hebrew, where could Joseph have found an interpreter betwixt him and his brethren, when he affected not to understand Hebrew ? Gen. xlii. 23. Probably this interpreter was some Canaanite.

4thly, The Hebrew language seems to this author to have been originally formed by polytheists, and such as worshipped deified heroes ; particularly, from the plural name of God, Elohim ; and from those metaphorical descriptions of the divine attributes, which are plainly borrowed from man, as the soul, the ears, the face, the eyes, the hands of God ; which metaphors, he supposes, would never have been used, if the language had been originally formed by people, who had no other notion of God but that of a pure spirit. It seems to have been originally the language of idolaters.

5thly, He alleges the testimony of Bochart, who shows from some remains of the Phœnician language, that it was originally Hebrew. Thus the chief magistrates of the Carthaginians, who were originally Phœnicians, or Canaanites, were called Suffites, which seems to be a corruption of the Hebrew word, *Shophetim*, judges.

The most material objection I can find against this hypothesis, is taken from the thirteenth chapter of Nehemiah, verse 24. where it is said, that some Jews having married wives of Ashdod, “ their children spoke half in

the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak in the Jews language." Now Ashdod was one of the cities of the Philistines, who were Canaanites; from whence, therefore, it should seem, that the Jew's language, namely, Hebrew, and that of the Canaanites, were not the same. But it may be answered,

1st, That this was after the captivity, when the Jews had in a great measure lost the Hebrew. So that by the Jews language we may here rather understand *Chaldee*, than Hebrew.

2dly, That the speech of Ashdod, perhaps, might differ from that of the Jews only in pronunciation and dialect; as the Ephraimites, Judg. xii. 6. pronounced differently from the other tribes, while yet they all spoke Hebrew.

HAVING thus endeavoured to trace the antiquity of the Hebrew language, we now come to consider the *language* itself.

It being common for people to find out peculiar excellencies in their own language, the Hebrews have done so in theirs; and many Christians have joined with them, in bestowing high encomiums upon it, as superior to all others. But whether that be owing to its real intrinsic excellencies, or to its advocates being prejudiced in its favour, on account of so many of the sacred books being written in it, we do not pretend to determine.

This language is said to abound in the aptest etymologies and roots of the names both of men and things; that in it the names of brutes express their nature and properties more significantly and accurately than in any other known language in the world; that its words are concise, yet expressive, derived from a small number of roots, yet without the studied and artificial composition of the Greek and Roman languages; that its words fol-

low each other in an easy and natural order, without intricacy or transposition; and, above all, that it hath the happiest and richest fecundity in its verbs, of any known tongue either ancient or modern; which arises from the variety and sufficiency of its conjugations; by means of which, as Bellarmine observes in his Hebrew Grammar, all the variety of significations, into which it is possible for a verb to be branched out, are expressed, with a very small variation either of the points, or of a letter or two; which in any other language cannot be done without circumlocution. In a word, this language is said to be so concise, yet significant; so pathetic, yet free from lightness or bombast, as of all others to approach nearest to the language of spirits, who need no words to convey their ideas to each other.

But whether this language deserves these high encomiums, in preference to all others, or not; yet, as God hath thought fit to convey to us so great a part of his revelations thereby, it certainly concerns us to be well acquainted with it. But it is not my present business to teach it; nor do you need instruction from me on this head.

All I shall further offer with respect to the language itself, will regard the letters in which it is written.

Concerning these there are two controversies; one about the consonants, the other about the vowels, or points.

First, Concerning the consonants. It is disputed, whether the sacred books were originally written in the present Hebrew square character, otherwise called the Assyrian or Chaldee character; or in the old Samaritan. Each side of this question is warmly maintained by different critics; though the latter opinion is now more generally received.

Joseph Scaliger, in his notes upon Eusebius's Chro-
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nicon, thinks it so evident, that the sacred books were originally written in the Samaritan character, at least those of them written before the captivity, that he saith it is *lucē clarius*; and with the usual politeness of a great critic, calls those of the contrary opinion, *semi-docti, semi-theologi, semi-homines, and assini*.

He, with others on this side of the question, conceives the Samaritan was the ancient Phœnician character, and constantly used by the Jews, till the Babylonian captivity; when, learning the Chaldee character from the Babylonians, they preferred it to their own on account of its far superior beauty. So that by the time they returned from the captivity, they had in a manner quite disused their ancient character; for which reason Ezra found it requisite to have the sacred books transcribed into the Chaldee square character, and from that time the old character hath been retained only by the Samaritans.

But there are others, who strenuously contend for the antiquity of the present Hebrew letters, as if they, and no others, were the sacred characters in which the holy scriptures were originally, and have always been written; and that the Samaritan was never used for that purpose, except among the Samaritans; who in opposition, they say, to the Jews, wrote the law of Moses, which is said to be the only part of scripture they received, in this character, different from that which was used by the Jews. Some of the Talmudists, indeed, are quoted by Father Morin, Bishop Walton and others, as having declared for the contrary side. Nevertheless other Talmudical writers maintain the antiquity of the present character. And there is a remarkable passage in the tract Megillah, wherein, on occasion of its having been said by Moses, that the tables of the law were written on both their sides, *mizzeh, umizzeh*, on one

side and on the other, Exod. xxxii. 15. we are informed, that the letters were cut through and through, so as to be seen and read on both sides. And when it is asked, how it was possible for the middle of the *samech* and *mem*, *clausum*, or final *mem*, to support itself, the answer is, it was suspended by a miraculous power. Certainly those Talmudical rabbies, who have advanced this story, did not at all dream of the Samaritan being the ancient Hebrew character; for the Samaritan *Samech* and *Mem* are of a quite different shape from the present Hebrew, and would have stood in need of no such miracle, to support the middle of them. Not to add that the Samaritans make no difference between the final, or the medial and initial letters.

Buxtorff endeavours to reconcile these two opinions, by producing a variety of passages from the rabbies to prove that both these characters were anciently used; the present square character being that in which the tables of the law, and the copy deposited in the ark were written; and the other character being used in the copies of the law which were written for private and common use, and in civil affairs in general; and that after the captivity Ezra enjoined the former to be used by the Jews on all occasions, leaving the latter to the Samaritans and to apostates. And whereas the Talmudical rabbies style the Hebrew square characters *ashurith*, *scriptura*, *Assyriaca*, this is said not to be a proper name, denoting the country where this character was used, and from whence it was borrowed, but to be *nomen appellativum*, derived from *ashar*, *beatum reddere*, and to signify therefore *beata scriptura*, the blessed scripture. R. Gedaliah indeed supposes it was called the Assyrian character because it was appropriated to sacred and never employed for common purposes, before the captivity in Babylon, from whence it was brought

by the elders, who alone had the knowledge of it by tradition. However, a bare inspection of the two characters renders the supposition, that both of them should ever have been used at the same time, somewhat improbable; for whereas the Chaldee is one of the most beautiful, the Samaritan, on the contrary, is one of the most uncouth, unsightly, and puzzling characters, that ever was invented; and it can hardly, therefore, be imagined, that if the Jews had been acquainted with one so much superior as the Chaldee, they would ever have used the other, unless out of superstitious regard to it as sacred, and as deeming it a profanation to use it in common and civil concerns. But it can scarcely be believed, that such an idle and superstitious opinion prevailed among them in the times of Moses and the prophets.

The chief arguments, on both sides of this question, are as follow :

1st, Those who argue in favour of the present square character being the original, allege

1st, The following passage of St. Matthew, "one jot or tittle shall not pass from the law, till all be fulfilled," Matt. v. 18. From hence it should seem, that Jota or Jod, was the least of the consonants; as indeed it is in the present Hebrew, but in the Samaritan it is one of the largest letters. Schikard calls this *argumentum Palmarium*. But Bishop Walton replies, that, supposing Christ speaks here of the least letter of the alphabet, which, however, he does not admit, all that can be fairly inferred from it is, that the present Chaldee character was used in our Saviour's time; which is not denied by those who maintain the Samaritan to be the original.

2dly, They allege the following passage of Isaiah, "Of the increase, *lemarbèh*, of his government and

peace, there shall be no end," &c. Isa. ix. 7.; where the word *lemarbèh* hath a *mem clausum* in the middle of it, of which there are only two instances. It is imagined this contains a mystery, and signifies that Christ should come *ex utero clauso*. But this mystery cannot be expressed in the Samaritan character, it having no *mem clausum*. The prophecy of Isaiah, therefore, it is said, was originally written in the present character. It is answered, that it is only *gratis dictum* there is any mystery in this letter; and the easiest way of accounting for it, is by the carelessness of some transcriber.

3dly, They argue from the temper of the Jews, who being an obstinate and superstitious people, would never have suffered their sacred character to be altered. But this is more than can be proved, especially if it was done by the direction of Ezra.

4thly, They say, that Ezra could not do this, if he would; nor would he, if he could. He could not do it, because it was impossible to make this alteration in all their copies. But it may be asserted as well, that the old English black letter, in which bibles were formerly written and printed, could not be changed for the Roman, which we know is now universally used. It is further said, that Ezra would not do it, had it been practicable; for since he blamed those that spake the language of Ashdod, Neh. xiii. 23. he would not surely profane the sacred writings with a heathen character. But this argument supposes some sanctity in the shape of the letters, which we can hardly imagine Ezra was so superstitious as to believe.

5thly, They argue from ancient coins found in Judea, with Solomon's head on the face, and the temple on the reverse, with a legend in the Chaldee or Assyrian Character. But these medals were probably made by some

knave Christians, in order to get money by imposing on the pilgrims to the holy land.

The same may be said of some Hebrew inscriptions in the present character, upon the sepulchres of the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Rachel and Leah; which R. Benjamin saith he saw in the year 1170.

The arguments on the other side, for the Samaritan character being the original, are,

1st, From the account in the second book of *Kings*, chap. xvii. 28. that when the ten tribes were carried captive, and the Samaritans put in their room, they were annoyed with lions; upon which a Jewish priest was sent to teach them the manner of the God of the land, or the worship of Jehovah; in order to which he must certainly teach them the law; but we have no account of his teaching them the language or character; from whence it is presumed the law was then written in the character which the Samaritans used.

2dly, It is argued in favour of the Samaritan character from the authority of Jerome, who observeth, on occasion of the prophet Ezekiel's being ordered "to set a mark," in the Hebrew *tau*, "upon the forehead of the men that sigh and cry for the abominations done in the midst of Jerusalem," Ezek. ix. 4.; that this mark was the sign of the cross, there being a resemblance of that figure in the *tau* of the ancient alphabet; which, saith he, is what the Samaritans now use. If so, the form of this letter must have been, as some assert it was, different in his time from what it is at present, in which the resemblance is very small.

3dly, The chief argument is taken from the old Jewish shekel, which on one side hath the pot of manna; and on the other, Aaron's miraculous rod that budded; with a legend on one side, "The shekel of Israel;" on the other, "Jerusalem the holy;" both in Samaritan cha-

racters. Some of the shekels were in the possession of Rabbi Moses Nachmanides, and Rabbi Azarias among the Jews; and of Montanus, and Villalpandus, and others among the Christians.

Now, this shekel could not belong to the Samaritans after the captivity, whose hatred to the Jews would never have suffered them to strike such an inscription on their coin, as "*Jerusalem hackodesh*." It must, therefore, have belonged to the Jews before the captivity; which consequently proves the Samaritan character to have been then in use. This argument seems indeed to be demonstration. Nevertheless, considering the many notorious impositions with respect to coins and medals, we should be well assured of the genuineness of these shekels,* before we are absolutely determined by them.

We proceed now,

2dly, To consider the points, or vowels; concerning which there is likewise no little controversy; whether they are of the same antiquity and authority with the consonants, or of a later original. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the famous Elias Levita, a German Jew, ventured to call their antiquity in question, and ascribed the invention of them to the Masorites of the school of Tiberias, about five hundred years after Christ. The book, which he published on this subject, soon raised him a cloud of adversaries, both of his own nation and among Christians. Of the latter were principally the two Buxtorffs; the father, in his book called *Tiberias*,

* Hottinger maintains the genuineness and great antiquity of these shekels, supposing at the same time, that the Samaritan character was used only for civil and profane purposes, and not for writing the holy scriptures. See his *Crippi Hebr. Dissert. iii. de Nummis Orientalibus*. On the other hand, Conringius, in his *Paradoxa de Nummis Hebræorum*, cap. viii. ix. endeavours to prove they were struck after the captivity, in the times of the Asmonean princes, and of the Herods. See also Reland *de Nummis Samaritanis*, Dissert. i.

sive Commentarius Masoreticus ; and the son, in his *Tractatus De Punctorum, Vocalium, et Accentuum in Libris Veteris Testamenti Hebraicis, Origine, Antiquitate et Autoritate* ; which he wrote in answer to Ludovicus Capel, a Protestant divine, and Hebrew professor at Saumur, who in his *Arcanum Punctuationis* had espoused Levita's opinion ; as did likewise Joseph Scaliger, Morinus, Drusis, and several other critics.

This controversy hath employed the learned for upwards of two hundred years.

I shall first give an account of the several hypothesis which have been advanced on this subject, and then of the arguments *pro* and *con*.

The hypothesis are,

1st, That the points are coeval with the consonants, and were written along with them in the original copies of the sacred law.

The second is, that they were added by Ezra, at the time when he is supposed to have changed the old Samaritan for the Assyrian or Chaldee character.

The third is, that they were invented and added by the Masorites of the school of Tiberias ; certain Jewish grammarians, who devoted themselves to the revisal of the Hebrew text, and in order to prevent any future alterations, numbered the sections, words and letters in each book.

The school of Tiberias in Galilee was a very famous one, and flourished long after the destruction of the second temple. The grammarians, or critics, of that school, commonly called Masorites, are supposed to have invented the points after the completion of the Talmud. The Papists generally embrace this hypothesis, because, in their opinion, it serves the cause of oral tradition, and hath a tendency to weaken the authority and sufficiency of the sacred text ; and for other reasons several Pro-

testants have received it. As for Capel, the most celebrated Christian champion for this hypothesis, although he agrees with Elias Levita in ascribing the first addition of the points in the text to the Masorites of Tiberias, he nevertheless differs from him in this, that he makes the invention of them to be purely human, and so represents them as of no authority; whereas Levita supposes the points expressed the true and genuine reading, which had been preserved and handed down by tradition from the first writers of the sacred books; so that in effect they are of equal authority with the consonants.

There is yet a fourth hypothesis of Dr. Prideaux, who goes a middle way betwixt those who contend for the points being coeval with the consonants, or at least for their being added by Ezra under divine inspiration; and those who allow them no higher original than the school of Tiberias. He conceives they were added by more ancient Masorites, soon after Ezra, when the Hebrew ceased to be a living language; but did not come into common use, nor were taught in the divinity schools till after the compiling of the Talmud. There were anciently two sorts of schools among the Jews, the schools of the Masorites, and the schools of the Rabbies. The former only taught the Hebrew language and the reading of the scriptures in it; the latter, the understanding of the scriptures, and the traditional interpretation of them. Now, the vowel points, Dr. Prideaux supposes, were in use in the schools of the Masorites several ages before they were introduced into the schools of the rabbies; and thus he accounts for their not being mentioned in the Talmud, nor by the ancient Christian fathers before the time of the Masorites of Tiberias.

We now proceed to consider the arguments for, and against, these different hypothesis.

1st, For the antiquity and divine authority of the points, whether coeval with the consonants, or added by Ezra.

To prove that they were not invented by the Masorites of Tiberias, it is alleged,

1st, That there is no mention in any Jewish writer of such an alteration being made in the Hebrew bible; which doubtless there would have been, had it been fact.

2dly, That all the annotations, or notes of the Masorites, upon the vowels, relate to the irregularity of them. For instance, in their commentaries on the nineteenth chapter of Genesis, and the second verse, they observe, on the word *hinne*, *ecce*, which ought regularly to have been *hinnè*, that every *hinne* in this sense is with *kametz parvum*, (by which they mean the vowel which we call *tzeri*,) except only in this place. And in the sixteenth chapter of Genesis, there being in the thirteenth verse *shèm*, which in the fifteenth verse is *shem*, they remark, that every *shèm* is with a *kametz parvum*, except six. Now, had the Masorites been the inventors of the points, it is not to be thought they would have made them irregular according to their own judgments; consequently they must have had these irregular points in the copies that were before them. But it is observed, that though we should suppose the Masorites of Tiberias invented the points, yet others, perhaps several ages afterwards, might make critical remarks upon them. For the Masorah, as printed in our present bibles, saith Dr. Prideaux, is a collection and abridgment of the chief criticisms made on the Hebrew text from the beginning.

3dly, There is express mention of the points or vowels, in books more ancient than the Talmud, namely, Bahir and Zohar, the first of which is said to have been written a little before our Saviour's time; and the se-

cond, which quotes and refers to it, not much above a century after. Buxtorff the elder quotes the following passage, among others, out of Bahir, *Talia sunt puncta cum literis legis Mosis qualis est anima vitæ in corpore*. But these two books are rejected by Capel, and others, as spurious and modern. Prideaux saith, there are many particulars in them, which manifestly prove them to be so, and that for above a thousand years after the pretended time of their composure, they were never heard of, quoted, or mentioned.

4thly, That the points were in use in our Saviour's time, and therefore long before the Masorites of Tiberias, is argued from the following passage of St. Matthew, "One iota, or *keraiā*;" which we translate tittle, "shall not pass from the law," Matt. v. 18. The tittles or points, therefore, at that time belonged to the law. But Capel understands by the *keraiā*, not the points, but the corollæ, or flourishes, sometimes made about the Hebrew consonants.

For the high antiquity of the points, and that they must be coeval with the consonants, it is argued,

1st, That as it is impossible to pronounce the language without vowels, so it would be alike impossible to teach it, unless the vowels were expressed. And

2dly, If it be allowed, that the present vowel points are not of the same authority with the consonants, but merely of human and late invention, it will greatly weaken the authority of the holy scriptures, and leave the sacred text to an arbitrary and uncertain reading and interpretation.

It is indeed advanced by the gentlemen on the other side of the question, that the Aleph, He, Vau, Jod, and Gvain originally served for vowels. To which it is replied, that there are multitudes of words, in which none of these letters occur. And it is certain they were not

in all words in Jerome's time, who in his commentary on Isaiah saith, that the word *dhabhar* is written with three letters. But Capel thinks it reasonable to suppose, that neither Moses nor Ezra would have used the Aleph, Vau and Jod at all, if they had been the authors of the points, which render these letters needless. And though all words have not these *Matres Lectionis*, yet wherever they are wanting, they may easily be supplied in reading, by those who are skilled in the tongue, as the persons undoubtedly were to whom it was a native language. To which some have added, that these letters have been struck out of many words in which they were formerly written, as being of no use since the invention of vowel points. To this it can only be replied, If that were the case, many "Iotas must have perished from the law." Besides, who would venture to expunge these letters? Not, surely, the Masorites; who were so superstitiously scrupulous and exact, as to preserve even the irregularities of the letters. And having counted and set down the number of the letters contained in each book, they thereby placed a guard against its being done by any body after them. But notwithstanding all their care, it is certain, the *Matres Lectionis* have been sometimes omitted; for they are more frequent in some of the older manuscripts than in latter manuscripts, or in the printed text.

The foregoing arguments for the antiquity of the points are produced, chiefly, by Buxtorff. We come now,

2dly, To consider the arguments against the antiquity of the points, by which Capel endeavours to prove, they were added by the Masorites of Tiberias. These are drawn from grammar, from testimony, and from history.

1st, The grammatical arguments are built principally

upon the Keri and Chethibh. The Chethibh, from *chathabh*, *scripsit*, is the reading in the text; the Keri, from *kara*, *legit*, the reading in the margin. Generally the wrong one is in the text, and the true in the margin. Some of the more modern rabbies ascribe these marginal corrections or various readings to Ezra. Abarbanel imputes the Chethibhim, the irregularities and anomalies in the text, to the original writers, who designed to comprise some mysteries in them. Or, he thinks, they might, in some instances, be owing to their inadvertency, or to their want of skill in grammar and orthography; and that Ezra, not willing to insert in the text his corrections even of the mistakes of the original writers, contented himself with placing them in the margin. Elias Levita very absurdly maintains, that the various readings themselves were derived by tradition from the original writers. The first of these opinions is the most plausible, namely that Ezra, in reviewing the different copies, in order to publish a perfect edition, marked the several variations, and put one reading in the text, and the other in the margin. But it is a strong objection to Ezra's having done it, that such marginal readings, different from the text, are found in the book of Ezra itself, who cannot be supposed to have been in doubt of the true reading of his own writings; and therefore they must, at least partly, have been inserted since Ezra's time.

Further, it should seem that these marginal corrections were not in the copies, from whence either the Seventy, the Chaldee Paraphrast, Aquila, Symmachus, or Theodosian, made their versions; since they sometimes follow the Keri, sometimes the Chethibh; whereas, had these marginal corrections been in their copies, they would doubtless, ordinarily, if not always, have followed them. Neither Josephus, nor Philo, nor Origen,

nor Jerome, make any mention of the Keri and the Chethibh; nor does the Mishnah. The Gemara, indeed, mentions those words, which were written but not read, and those which were read but not written, as also obscene words, instead of which were read others that are more pure and chaste. But it does not take notice of the other part of the Keri and Chethibh, namely those words which are written, and read in a different manner. From all this it is concluded, that the Kerieth began to be collected a little before the completion of the Talmud, probably by the Masorites of Tiberias. From hence Capel argues against the antiquity of the points, endeavouring to prove that they have no higher an original than the Keri and the Chethibh: and for this he offers the following reasons,

1st, The Kerieth are various lections of the consonants only; there are none of the vowels or points, as doubtless there would have been, had the points *been in* the copies from whence the Kerieth were made.

2dly, There are certain irregularities in the punctuation, which show that the points were not in the copies, from whence the Keri and the Chethibh were made. Now, these irregularities are observed, both in whole words, and in parts of words.

1st, In whole words; these are either single words, or words combined, or divided. Those in single words are when the consonants are either redundant, or defective, or are wholly suppressed. Of the first sort, there is an instance in the fifty-first chapter of Jeremiah and the third verse; where *jidhroch* is written twice. And this superfluous word hath no points; which is thus accounted for; that those who settled the Keri and Chethibh, finding the word in their copies, durst not strike it out, but perceiving it to be an erratum and superfluous, they would not point it; whereas, had it been pointed in

their books, they would doubtless have given it as they found it, and no more have dared to expunge the vowels, than the consonants. Hence it is inferred, that the Keri-oth were more ancient than the points, and that the copies which supplied them were unpointed.

Of the second sort, where the consonants are defective, we have an instance in the thirty-first chapter of Jeremiah, and the thirty-eighth verse; where we have the vowels of a word in the Chethibh, without the consonants, which consonants are supplied in the Keri; and without which supplement the text is not sense. The Masorah observes eleven instances of this kind. Now, it cannot be thought the words were written thus originally, or by Ezra, or that any other transcriber through carelessness should omit the consonants, while he set down the vowels. Therefore it is supposed, that those who invented the points, found the word omitted, doubtless through the incuria of some transcriber; yet durst not put the consonants in the text, but in the margin, and the vowels only in the text.

There are also instances of the consonants being suppressed in reading the text, by other consonants being put in their room in the margin; as, when the original word seemed to those who invented the vowels to be obscene, and therefore not proper to be read, they have substituted another word in the margin, and put the vowels proper to that word under the word in the text. For instance, in the eighteenth chapter of the second book of Kings and the twenty-seventh verse, where the consonants in the text cannot be read with the vowels annexed to them, which evidently belong to the consonants in the margin. We cannot, therefore, suppose, that the vowels in the text were originally affixed to the words they are now under, or that they were put to those words before the invention of these marginal readings.

There are observations likewise made on the combinations of words. Thus the word *meeshtam*, in the sixth chapter of Jeremiah and the twenty-ninth verse, ought to be written in two words, as in the margin; for the punctuation is not just, if the consonants are joined together, but agrees very well with the consonants, if they are divided.

Sometimes, again, we find one word broke into two in the text, which are joined together as they should be in the margin. In the thirty-fourth chapter of the second book of Chronicles and the sixth verse, *bechar bothehem*, ought certainly to be one word, as in the margin; otherwise the punctuation is very irregular. Now the books of Chronicles are generally supposed to have been written by Ezra. But whoever wrote them, it cannot be imagined, that this irregular punctuation was in the original copy; but the consonants happening to be afterwards divided through the incuria of the transcriber, those who invented the points fixed them, as if it had been, what it ought to have been, one word. Thus much for the irregularities observed in whole words.

We proceed now to the

2d Class of arguments against the antiquity of the vowels; which are drawn from testimony; and that, according to Capel, is either tacit or express.

Of the latter sort is the testimony of Aben Ezra, R. David Kimchi, R. Jehuda Levita, and R. Elias Levita; who are all of this opinion.

Tacit, or consequential, testimony is taken from the copies of the law, which are kept and read in the synagogues; or from the cabalistic interpretation, or from passages of the Talmud.

1st, From the copies of the law, called *Sepher-torah*, written on a scroll of parchment, and read every Sab-

bath in the Jewish synagogues. These copies are accounted by them the most sacred, and preferred to all others; and they are constantly written without points. But had the points been of equal authority with the consonants, doubtless a pointed law would have been always looked upon as the most sacred.

2dly, From the cabalistical interpretations, which relate to the consonants, and none of them to the vowels. And hence it is inferred that the vowels were not in being, when those interpretations were made.

3dly, From the Talmud which contains the "*jura et decisions magistrorum suorum*," the determinations of the doctors concerning some passages of the law. It is evident, they say, the points were not affixed to the text, when the Talmud was composed, because there are several disputes concerning the sense of passages of the law, which could not have been disputed, had there been points. Besides, they never mention the vowels, though they have the fairest opportunity and occasion to mention them, had they been then in being. In the commentary on this passage of the first book of Kings, "After he," that is, Joab, "had smitten every male in Edom," 1 Kings xi. 15. the Talmud relates, that when Joab returned from this expedition, he told David, that he had smitten every male in Edom. David asked him, why he had left the females alive? Joab answers, the law says, *zakar*. No, saith David, we read, *zeher, memoria*. Whereupon Joab went to ask his master, how he read this word? His master read it *zeher*; and upon this Joab drew his sword with a design to murder him. Now, had there been points at this time, it would have been impossible to have made this mistake. And had there been points when the Talmud was wrote, there would have been no room to have invented this story; for the points deter-

mine it to be *zakar* : and besides, if the Talmudists had been in possession of vowel points, they would certainly have made use of them in telling this story, that so the sense might have been plain and not liable to be misunderstood ; whereas the two words are nowise distinguished, being both written with the consonants only.

Another instance of this sort occurs in the twelfth chapter of Leviticus and the fifth verse ; where the Talmudists dispute about the meaning of the word *shebhungnaim*. These consonants signify, either two weeks, or seventy days. Now had the vowel-points been then used, they would have had the fairest opportunity of saying, it must be two weeks ; because there is a *kibbutz* under the *beth*, and they would doubtless have written it *shebhungnaim* ; whereas they put down only the consonants.

We proceed now to the

3d Sort of arguments, which Capel draws from the Chaldee Paraphrases of Jonathan and Onkelos, the Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, and especially that of the Septuagint, by which he endeavours to prove, that the copy from which they translated was without points. This appears with respect to them all, from their translating several words in a sense different from that which the points determine them to mean. I shall select some instances from the Septuagint only. In the fifteenth chapter of Genesis, and the eleventh verse, for *vajjashèbh otham*, "he drove them away," the Seventy read *vajjèshèbh ittam*, and accordingly render it *kai sunekathesen autois*, he sat down by them, (that is, the carcasses,) to watch them, that the fowls might not devour them. In the forty-seventh chapter and thirty-first verse, for *hammitah*, a bed, they read *hammatteh*, a staff ; and accordingly translate it, *rabdou autou*. In the eighteenth chapter and

the twelfth verse, for *gnedhnah*, pleasure, they read *gnadhennah*, hitherto, rendering it *eos tou nun*. In the thirty-second Psalm and the fifth verse, "I said, I will confess my transgressions," or upon my transgressions; for *gnalèi* upon, they read *gnalai*, rendering it *kat' emou*, Ps. xxxi. in the Greek. In the forty-seventh Psalm and the tenth verse, for *gnam*, the people, they read *gnim*, with; instead of "the people of the God of Abraham," it is in their version, *meta tou Theou Abraam*, with the God of Abraham. In the thirty-third Psalm and the seventh verse, instead of *cannedh*, like a heap, they read *cannodh*, like a bottle, rendering it *osei ashon*. In the ninth chapter of Hosea and the first verse, for *el*, to, they read *al*, not, rendering it *mede*. In the first chapter of Joel and the eighteenth verse, for *nabhochu*, are perplexed, they read *nibhchu*, wept, from *bachah*, *flevit*; and accordingly they render it *shlausan*. From these and several other instances it is inferred, that the translators of the Septuagint had no bible with points; or at least, that the copy they translated from was not pointed as ours is.

Let us now see what is replied to these arguments of Capel by Buxtorff and others, who contend for the high antiquity and authority of the Hebrew points.

1st, As to the argument drawn from the Keri Chethibh:

Buxtorff admits the Keri and Chethibh to have been prior to the points; and therefore, in order to maintain his opinion, that Ezra was the author of the points, he asserts, that it was Ezra, and not the Masorites of Tiberias, who first collected the Kerieth, and then regulated by them the punctuation in the text. We have already taken notice of the reasons, which Capel offers on the contrary, for allowing the Kerieth no higher antiquity than the time of the Masorites of Tiberias.

There are others, who assert, that the various lections,

which are to be found in the Masorah, and part of which are inserted in the margin of the Hebrew bible, are made upon the vowels, as well as upon the consonants; and they endeavour to show, that the various lections upon the consonants are owing to the irregularity of the vowels; and if so, the vowels must have been prior to these marginal corrections. Thus they prove the antiquity of the points from the Keri and Chethibh; and their argument is this: There are many instances, where the consonants in the margin are plainly fitted to the vowels in the text. But had there been no vowels in the text when the Keri were made, there would have been no occasion for these corrections; for the text might have been read with other vowels, and the sense of it much mended.

To the 2d Class of arguments against the antiquity of the points, which are taken from the Sepher-Torah, the Cabala and Talmud, it is replied,

1st, As to the Sepher-Torah, it is acknowledged, that the copies of the law, which were publicly read in the Jewish synagogues, were always, at least as far back as we can trace them, without points. But to the inference, that the points are of modern invention, because the Jews durst not make any alteration in their law, but would transcribe it just as they found it, it is replied, That from hence it might as well be proved, that the Keri did originally belong to the law, which is absurd to imagine, as that the points did not. The Jews give two reasons for the Sepher-Torah's being written without points. The one is, that it is thereby capable of more mysterious interpretation; the other, that every one is bound to write over the law once in his life, or at least to get it written for him; and it must be written without any blunder, for one blunder profanes the whole. It is therefore proper it should be written without points,

because in such a vast number of points it would be morally impossible to avoid blunders.

Perhaps a third reason may be added for the Sepher-Torah's being written without points, namely, that being written merely for the use of such persons as are well versed in the Hebrew tongue, (for it is not to be supposed, that any others are employed as public readers in the synagogue,) there was no need to write it with the points, they being very capable of reading without them. But as M. T. C. is sufficient for one who is versed in the Roman contractions, while a more unskilful person cannot read unless Marcus Tullius Cicero be wrote at length ; so those copies, which were written merely for the use of the learned in the Hebrew language, being written without points, will by no means prove, that points were not necessary for, and anciently used by, the more unlearned.

As for the assertion, that the Jews durst not make any alteration in their law, but would transcribe it just as they found it, and that therefore they would have inserted the points into the Sepher-Torah, if they had then been used originally, or had been invented by Ezra, this supposes, that the same superstitious regard was always paid to the characters and letters in which the law was written, as hath been done since the time of the Masorites of Tiberias ; and that the Jews would have scrupled to write out copies without points, for the use of their public readers, who did not need them ; which is not probable, even though they had looked on the vowel-points to be as authentic as the consonants.

Again, though the modern Sepher-Torah is written without points, yet we cannot be certain how the fact hath always been, particularly how it was in the time of Ezra ; for there are no copies of the law now extant, near so ancient as his time. As for the copy in the

church of St. Dominic in Bononia pretended to be written by Ezra himself, it is in a fair character on a sort of leather, and made up in a roll according to the ancient manner; and it hath the vowel points; but the freshness of the writing, which hath suffered no decay, prevents our believing it to be near so ancient as is pretended. We are not informed, whether the points in this manuscript appear to have been written by a later hand than the consonants; but in many manuscripts, examined by Dr. Kennicott, and those some of the oldest and best, either there are no points at all, or they are evidently a late addition.

The 2d Argument against the antiquity of the points was drawn from the Talmud, which makes no mention of them. To which it is replied, not only that there are books said by Buxtorff to be older than the Talmud, though rejected by Capel as spurious, in which they are expressly mentioned; but likewise that it is highly probable the Talmudists, though they *make no* mention of the points, nevertheless used pointed copies; because all the senses they give of scripture are agreeable to the present punctuation; whereas, if there had been no points, it can hardly be thought they would always have given the same sense of words, as the points determine them to mean. As to the

3d Argument which is taken from the Cabala; it is replied, that both ancient and modern cabalistical writers have found mysteries in the points, as well as the consonants. For instances of which see Buxtorff *De Antiquitate Punctorum*, and what Capel saith in confutation of him. The

III^d Sort of arguments against the antiquity of the points was drawn from comparing the ancient versions, particularly the Septuagint, with the original; by which, they say, it appears, that the Hebrew copies, which

those ancient interpreters used, had no points. But those of the contrary opinion remark,

1st, That hereby one argument for the antiquity of the points is greatly confirmed; namely, that without them the sense would be uncertain. It is pretended indeed, that though there are a number of Hebrew words of different significations, whose consonants are the same; yet where these words occur, the context will always determine the true meaning. But we see the contrary in those ancient versions, which are made from copies without points; for they have frequently mistaken the sense by reading with wrong vowels.

2dly, They remark, that if this argument proves any thing, it proves too much; for if the copies we now have of the Septuagint be just transcripts of the original version, we may as easily prove by it, that the Hebrew copy, from whence that version was made, had no consonants, as that it had no vowels; since it differed as much from our copy in the former as in the latter.

As to the hypothesis of Dr. Prideaux, that the points were added to the Hebrew text soon after Ezra's time by the ancient Masorites, and used in their schools in teaching to read the bible; yet not received into the schools of the rabbies till several hundred years afterwards: in support of the former assertion, he alleges the utter impossibility of teaching to read the Hebrew without points, when it was become a dead language; which it is allowed on all hands to have been ever since the captivity.

This opinion, that the points were invented and used by the Masorites soon after the time of Ezra, who is supposed to have settled the true reading of the Hebrew text, makes their authority very considerable. But if it can be proved, that they were invented a little after Ezra's time, because they were necessary to teach

the reading of the Hebrew, when it was become a dead language ; I see not ; but the same argument will prove, they were invented in his time ; for the Hebrew was a dead language then as well as after.

The latter assertion, that though they were not introduced into the schools of the rabbies, till some hundred years afterwards, is advanced in order to account for the silence of the Talmud, Josephus, and Philo, with most of the ancient Christian fathers, concerning them. Now this silence will indeed prove, that there was no dispute about them in those times ; but, whatever presumption it may be, it is no demonstration, that they were not then used even in the schools of the rabbies.

Indeed, it was so natural for the inventors of the alphabet to contrive characters for the vowels as well as the consonants, that no small presumption arises from hence, that the present points were coeval with the consonants, unless the *Matres Lectionis* are supposed to have been the original vowels. To which some add, the use of the points, in determining the different meanings of several words, which have the same consonants ; particularly, in distinguishing the two conjugations of *Pihel* and *Puhal* in all the moods and tenses except the infinitive. And this shows the modern points to be at least as ancient as the present structure of Hebrew grammar.

However, this controversy not admitting of demonstration on either side of the question, I shall leave you, after considering what hath been said, and what Buxtorff and Capel have further offered, to judge for yourselves, on which side the greatest probability lies ; and proceed next to consider the usual divisions of the Hebrew bible.

Of the General Partitions and Divisions of the Bible.

THE general title of the whole is *Nesrim ve'ar-bangnah*, that is, the twenty-four because it contains twenty-four books; though, from a passage of Josephus in his first book against Appion it appears, that in his time they divided the whole bible into twenty-two books, corresponding to the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet. He saith, we have only twenty-two books, which are deservedly believed to be of divine authority, of which five are the books of Moses. The prophets, who were the successors of Moses, have written thirteen. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and documents of life for the use of men.*

At present the Jews make the sacred books to be twenty-four; for they reckon Ezra and Nehemiah as one book, and the twelve minor prophets as one, and the two books of Samuel, of Kings, and of Chronicles each as one book; which reduces the thirty-nine books, according to our division, to twenty-four. And these twenty-four they distinguish into five of the law, eight of the prophets, and eleven of the hagiographa. The Law, or Pentateuch, which they call *chamishah chumishèi torah*, that is *quinque quintæ legis*, contains the five books of Moses; each of which is called by the word with which it begins, or the most considerable

* Joseph. contra Appion. lib. 1. § 8. tom. 2 p. 441. edit. Haverc.

This passage of Josephus is much insisted on by Mr. Whiston and some others, to disprove the divine authority of the book of Canticles. We have now, they say, five books in our bibles, which answer to this title, Hymns to God and documents of life for the use of men; namely, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Canticles; whereas it is plain, that in Josephus's time there were but four. Therefore the book of Canticles, they conceive, hath been added since. See Mr. Whiston's supplement to his Essay towards restoring the true text of the Old Testament, proving that the Canticles is not a sacred book; printed 1723: and on the other side, a defence of the canon of the Old Testament in answer to Mr. Whiston, by William Itching, M. A. 1723.

near the beginning, as *Bereshith*, *Shemoth*, &c. The prophets, in Hebrew *nebhiim*, are distinguished into *nebhiim rishonim*, or former prophets, which are Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings; and the *nibhiim acharonim*, or the latter prophets; which are again distinguished into the *majores*, which are Isaiah, Jeremiah and Eze-kiel; and the twelve *minores*, namely, Hosea, Joel, &c. which are all reckoned one book.

The Hagiographa, or *Sepher Chetubhim* contain Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles. But in some books, as Athias's and Plantin's editions, the *Chamesh Megillath*, that is, the books of Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes and Esther, are placed just after the pentateuch; and then the hagiographa contain only Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles. The reason why the Jews divide them in this manner is, that *they* might have no occasion to carry the whole bible to their synagogue, but only the pentateuch and those five books which are read at different feasts; namely, Canticles at the passover, Ruth at the pentecost, Lamentations at the fast which is kept in July in commemoration of the burning of the temple; Ecclesiastes at the feast of tabernacles, and Esther at the feast of purim. This last book is written in a little roll by itself, and called *Megillah Esther*, from *galal*, *volvit*.

The division of the bible into these three parts, the Law, the Prophets and the Hagiographa, seems to be referred to in the following passage of St. Luke, "All things must be fulfilled, which are written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me," Luke xxiv. 44. As the book of Psalms stood first in the hagiographa, or the third division, that whole division was commonly called the Psalms; as the

whole book of Genesis is named by the first word in it, and so several other books. This enumeration, therefore, the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, includes the whole bible.

On the same principle Dr. Lightfoot accounts for a supposed false citation in St. Matthew, chap. xxvii. 9, 10. "Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremiah, the prophet, saying, And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value; and gave them for the potters field." The passage here cited is not in Jeremiah, but in Zechariah. Accordingly Beza styles this difficulty, *Nodus, qui vetustissimos quosque interpretes torsit*. St. Austin supposes it to be *amartema mnemonikon*, a slip of St. Matthew's memory; which is by no means to be admitted, if we allow that he wrote by the special guidance of the Spirit of God. Dr. Wall, observing that Dr. Mill supposes it to be a *lapsus calami* of St. Matthew, thinks it more likely that the Greek translator of his gospel should have been thus mistaken than the evangelist himself; and if so, saith he, it is pity somebody did not do here, as St. Jerome did in a similar difficulty relating to "Zecharias, the son of Barachias," who is said to have been "slain between the temple and the altar;" namely, consult the Hebrew copy of St. Matthew's gospel before it was lost. Indeed St. Jerome saith with respect to the present difficulty, that a Nazarene Jew showed him a book, accounted an apocryphal book of the prophet Jeremiah, where this passage is expressed *verbatim*.

The learned Joseph Mede conceives, that these words as well as several passages, which now stand in the book of Zechariah, were originally spoken by Jeremiah; but have been misplaced through the unskilfulness of the persons who collected their prophecies.

However Dr. Lightfoot, by testimonies from the rabbies, shows us, that Jeremiah did anciently stand first in the book of the prophets. And hence he came to be mentioned before all the rest in the following passage of St. Matthew, "Some say, that thou art John the Baptist, some Elias, and others Jeremias, or one of the prophets," Matt. xvi. 14. Accordingly, as the whole hagiographa is called the Psalms, from the Psalms being the first book, so the whole volume of the prophets is for the same reason called Jeremiah.

There is yet another, and perhaps more probable, conjecture of Bishop Hall; who imagines, that Zechariah having been written contractedly, *Zriou*, was by some transcriber mistaken for *Iriou*.

Others after all suppose, that the name of the prophet is an erroneous marginal addition, now crept into the text; since the Syriac version only saith, "It was spoken by the prophet," without mentioning his name.

I shall conclude the whole with an account of the most considerable editions of the Bible. I mean those which may be called pompous editions; for the plain, or the mere editions of the Hebrew text, are too numerous for our attempting a detail of them. By the pompous editions, otherwise called *Opera Biblica*, I intend those, which contain not only the sacred text, but likewise some commentaries, or versions, joined with it; and they are chiefly these four, the *Biblia Complutensia*, *Biblia Regia*, *Biblia Parisiensia*, and *Biblia Polyglotta*.

The *Biblia Complutensia*, so called from *Complutum* in Spain, where the work was printed, is contained in one volume folio. It was published under the care of Cardinal Ximenes, *anno* 1514, containing the Old Testament in Hebrew; the vulgar Latin; the Targum of Onkelos on the Pentateuch, and the Septuagint version,

with the Latin translation of both; also the New Testament in Greek and Latin.

The *Biblia Regia*, so called from Philip II. of Spain, at whose charge the work was executed, contains eight volumes, printed at Antwerp, *anno Dom.* 1571, with a better letter and paper than the former. Arias Montanus had the greatest share in this work, which contains several things more than the Complutesian, namely, the Chaldee Paraphrase on all the Old Testament, with a Latin version of it; the interlineary version of the New Testament; and also the New Testament in Syriac, expressed both in Hebrew and Syriac characters.

The *Biblia Parisiensia*, in ten volumes, was printed at Paris, *anno Dom.* 1645, at the charge of a private man, Michael de Jay; and therefore it is also called Jay's Bible. It was done under the direction and care of Dr. Gabriel Sionita, professor of the Oriental languages at Paris, of Johannes Morinus, and Abraham Ecchellensis.

It exceeds the *Biblia Regia* both in paper and in print; it hath, besides all which that contains, the Pentateuch in Samaritan, all the Old Testament in Syriac, and both Testaments in Arabic.

The *Anglicanum opus Biblicum*, called the Polyglot, was printed chiefly under the care of Dr. Bryan Walton, in six volumes, at London, 1657. This contains several things which Jay's Bible hath not. It has Arias Montanus's interlineary version, the Septuagint from the Fatican and Alexandrian copies, which are supposed to be the best; the old vulgate Latin translation of the Septuagint, which alone, he tells you, is that which the Latin church used four hundred years after the apostles. It has the Persic Pentateuch in the Persic character, the Psalms, Canticles and New Testament in the Ethi-

opic, the Jerusalem Targum, the Chaldee Paraphrase of Jonathan, &c.

Dr. Edmund Castell, Arabic professor at Cambridge, published a Lexicon for the use of Walton's Polyglot, in two volumes folio, which generally goes with it, making in all eight volumes.

THE END.

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